



JOE KLEIN
**The Climate
In Cairo**

LIBYA:
THE WOMAN
WHO PILOTED
THE NO-FLY

Paul Ryan's Gamble

FAREED ZAKARIA: AND OBAMA'S NEXT MOVE

STYLE:
ROYAL
WEDDING
SWAG

TIME

150TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CIVIL WAR

WHY WE'RE STILL FIGHTING THE CIVIL WAR

The endless battle
over the war's true
cause would make
Lincoln weep

BY DAVID VON DREHLE



Is your arthritis pain medicine putting you at risk for stomach issues?

Ask your doctor about VIMOVO.

VIMOVO is a prescription medicine that combines a proven arthritis pain reliever with built-in medication that can help protect you from stomach issues common to NSAIDs.

NSAIDs (nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory drugs) can effectively reduce the pain of osteoarthritis. But they may also lead to stomach issues which may keep you from taking the medicine you need.

VIMOVO combines a prescription arthritis pain medication with a built-in medicine that has been proven to reduce the risk of developing stomach (gastric) ulcers.*

So if you're worried about potential stomach issues with your arthritis pain medication, ask your doctor about VIMOVO.

* In 6-month clinical studies, compared to enteric-coated naproxen.

Medicine on the outside of VIMOVO helps reduce the risk of stomach ulcers.



Medicine on the inside of VIMOVO helps relieve arthritis pain.

Get your VIMOVO prescription for only

\$10⁺
each month

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* Requires a prescription; subject to eligibility rules; restrictions apply.

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Approved Uses for VIMOVO

VIMOVO is approved to relieve the signs and symptoms of osteoarthritis, rheumatoid arthritis, and ankylosing spondylitis, and to decrease the risk of stomach (gastric) ulcers in patients at risk of developing stomach ulcers from treatment with NSAIDs.

VIMOVO is not recommended as a starting treatment for relief of acute pain. Controlled studies do not extend beyond 6 months.

Important Safety Information

Like all medications that contain nonsteroidal anti inflammatory drugs (NSAIDs), VIMOVO may increase the chance of a heart attack or stroke that can lead to death. This chance increases with longer use of NSAID medicines, and in people who have heart disease. NSAID-containing medications, such as VIMOVO, should never be used before or after a type of heart surgery called coronary artery bypass graft (CABG). As with all medications that contain NSAIDs, VIMOVO may increase the chance of stomach and intestinal problems, such as bleeding or an ulcer, which can occur without warning and may cause death. Elderly patients are at greater risk for serious gastrointestinal events.

VIMOVO is not right for everyone, including patients who have had an asthma attack, hives, or other allergic reaction with aspirin or any other NSAID medicine, patients who are allergic to any of the ingredients in VIMOVO, or women in late stages of pregnancy.

Serious allergic reactions, including skin reactions, can occur without warning and can be life-threatening; discontinue use of VIMOVO at the first appearance of a skin rash, or if you develop sudden wheezing; swelling of the lips, tongue or throat; fainting; or problems swallowing. VIMOVO should be used at the lowest dose and for the shortest amount of time as directed by your health care provider.

Tell your health care provider right away if you develop signs of active bleeding from any source.

VIMOVO can lead to onset of new hypertension or worsening of existing high blood pressure, either of which may contribute to an increased risk of a heart attack or stroke.

Speak with your health care provider before starting VIMOVO if you

- Have a history of ulcers or bleeding in the stomach or intestines
- Have heart problems, high blood pressure, or are taking high blood pressure medications
- Have kidney or liver problems

Review all the medications, even over-the-counter medications, you are taking with your health care provider before starting VIMOVO.

Talk to your health care provider about your risk for bone fractures if you take VIMOVO for a long period of time.

The most common side effects of VIMOVO include: inflammation of the lining of the stomach, indigestion, diarrhea, stomach ulcers, abdominal pain, and nausea.

For further information on VIMOVO, please see the brief summary of full Prescribing Information, including Boxed Warnings on adjacent pages.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch, or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

If you're without prescription coverage and can't afford your medication, AstraZeneca may be able to help. For more information, please visit www.astrazeneca-us.com

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(naproxen/esomeprazole magnesium)

375/20-500/20 mg delayed-release tablets

AstraZeneca

IMPORTANT INFORMATION ABOUT VIMOVO

Please read this summary carefully. It does not take the place of discussions with your doctor about the full Prescribing Information for VIMOVO and whether this drug is right for you.

WHAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT INFORMATION I SHOULD KNOW ABOUT VIMOVO?

VIMOVO, which contains naproxen [a nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory drug (NSAID)] and esomeprazole magnesium [a proton pump inhibitor (PPI)], may increase the chance of a heart attack or stroke that can lead to death. This chance increases

- with longer use of NSAID medicines
 - in people who have heart disease
- NSAID medicines should never be used right before or after a heart surgery called a coronary artery bypass graft (CABG).

NSAID medicines can cause ulcers and bleeding in the stomach and intestines at any time during treatment. Ulcers and bleeding can happen without warning symptoms

- may cause death
 - The chance of a person getting an ulcer or bleeding increases with
 - taking medicines called steroid hormones and blood thinners
 - longer use
 - smoking
 - drinking alcohol
 - older age
 - having poor health
- NSAID medicines should only be used

- exactly as prescribed
- at the lowest dose possible for your treatment
- for the shortest time needed

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE SIDE EFFECTS OF NSAIDS?

Serious side effects include

- heart attack
- stroke
- high blood pressure
- heart failure from body swelling (fluid retention)
- kidney problems including kidney failure
- bleeding and ulcers in the stomach and intestine
- low red blood cells (anemia)
- life-threatening skin reactions
- life-threatening allergic reactions
- liver problems including liver failure
- asthma attacks in people who have asthma

Other side effects include

- stomach pain
- constipation
- diarrhea
- gas
- heartburn
- nausea
- vomiting
- dizziness

Get emergency help right away if you have any of the following symptoms

- shortness of breath or trouble breathing

- chest pain
- weakness in one part or side of your body
- slurred speech
- swelling of the face or throat

Stop your NSAID medicine and call your health care provider right away if you have any of the following symptoms

- nausea
- more tired or weaker than usual
- itching
- your skin or eyes look yellow
- stomach pain
- flu-like symptoms
- vomit blood
- there is blood in your bowel movement or it is black and sticky like tar
- skin rash or blisters with fever
- unusual weight gain
- swelling of the arms and legs, hands and feet

These are not all the possible side effects with NSAIDs.

WHAT IS VIMOVO?

VIMOVO is a prescription medicine used to

- relieve signs and symptoms of osteoarthritis, rheumatoid arthritis, and ankylosing spondylitis
- decrease the risk of developing stomach (gastric) ulcers in people who are at risk of developing gastric ulcers with NSAIDs

It is not known if VIMOVO is safe or effective in children under the age of 18.

WHO SHOULD NOT TAKE VIMOVO?

Do not take VIMOVO

- if you had an asthma attack, hives, or other allergic reaction after taking aspirin or other NSAID medicine
- If you are allergic to any of the ingredients in VIMOVO
- If you are allergic to any other PPI medicine
- For pain right before or after heart bypass surgery
- If you are in the third trimester of pregnancy

WHAT SHOULD I TELL MY HEALTH CARE PROVIDER BEFORE TAKING VIMOVO?

Before you take VIMOVO, tell your health care provider about all your medical conditions and all the medicines you take, including prescription and non-prescription, vitamins, and herbal supplements. Talk to your health care provider before taking any other NSAID-containing products.

- Using VIMOVO with other medicines can cause serious side effects
- Talk to your health care provider if you are pregnant or breast-feeding. NSAID medicine should not be used by pregnant women late in their pregnancy

HOW SHOULD I TAKE VIMOVO?

- Take VIMOVO at least 30 minutes before a meal
- Swallow VIMOVO tablets whole with liquid. Do not split, chew, crush, or dissolve the VIMOVO tablet
- You may use antacids while taking VIMOVO
- Do not change your dose or stop VIMOVO without first talking to your health care provider
- If you forget to take a dose of VIMOVO, take it as soon as you remember. If it is almost time for your next dose, do not take the missed dose. Take the next dose on time. Do not take 2 doses at one time to make up for a missed dose
- If you take too much VIMOVO, tell your health care provider, go to the closest hospital emergency room right away, or call your Poison Control Center at 1-800-222-1222

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE SIDE EFFECTS OF VIMOVO?

Serious side effects may include

- High blood pressure
- Heart problems such as congestive heart failure, heart attack, or stroke

- Active bleeding
- Serious allergic reactions
- Serious skin reactions
- Liver problems
- Bone fracture

Tell your health care provider if you have any of the following symptoms

- chest pain, weakness, or slurred speech
- trouble breathing or wheezing
- swelling of face, throat, or body
- severe skin blisters or peeling
- blood in your bowel movement or it is black and sticky like tar
- yellowing of skin or eyes

The most common side effects of VIMOVO include

- inflammation of the lining of the stomach
- indigestion
- diarrhea
- stomach ulcers
- stomach pain
- nausea

These are not all the possible side effects of VIMOVO. Call your health care provider for medical advice about side effects.

You may report side effects to the FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

OTHER INFORMATION ABOUT NONSTEROIDAL ANTI-INFLAMMATORY DRUGS (NSAIDS)

- Aspirin is an NSAID medicine but it does not increase the chance of a heart attack. Aspirin can cause bleeding in the brain, stomach, and intestines. Aspirin can also cause ulcers in the stomach and intestines
- Some of these NSAID medicines are sold in lower doses without a prescription (over-the-counter). Talk to your health care provider before using over-the-counter NSAIDs for more than 10 days

NSAID medicines that need a prescription

Generic Name	Trade Name
Celecoxib	Celebrex
Diclofenac	Cataflam, Voltaren, Arthrotec (combined with misoprostol)
Diffunisal	Dolobid
Etorolac	Lodine, Lodine XL
Fenoprofen	Naifon, Naifon 200
Flurbiprofen	Ansaid
Ibuprofen	Motrin, Tab-Profen, Vicoprofen* (combined with hydrocodone), Combunox (combined with oxycodone)
Indomethacin	Indocin, Indocin SR, Indo-Lemmon, Indomethagan
Ketoprofen	Oruvail
Ketorolac	Toradol
Mefenamic Acid	Ponstel
Meloxicam	Mobic
Nabumetone	Relafen
Naproxen	Naprosyn, Anaprox, Anaprox DS, EC-Naproxyn, Naprelan, VIMOVO
Oxaprozin	Daypro
Piroxicam	Feldene
Sulindac	Clinril
Tolmetin	Tolectin, Tolectin DS, Tolectin 600

* Vicoprofen contains the same dose of ibuprofen as over-the-counter (OTC) NSAIDs, and is usually used for less than 10 days to treat pain. The OTC NSAID label warns that long-term continuous use may increase the risk of heart attack or stroke.

For more information, call 1-800-236-9933 or go to www.VIMOVO.com. VIMOVO is a trademark of the AstraZeneca group of companies. Other trademarks are the property of their respective companies. © 2011 AstraZeneca LP, Wilmington, DE 19850 1082704 2/11

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words today,
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6 | Editor's Desk

BRIEFING

11 | Verbatim

12 | Closeup

You burn the Koran, we burn your effigy

14 | World

Strife in Yemen; Haiti's flamboyant President

16 | Nation

Mark Halperin on Obama's re-election strategy; the justices' race in Wisconsin

17 | Economy

A crippling recession in Japan

18 | Health & Science

Decoding breast cancer; identifying Alzheimer's genes

21 | Milestones

India wins cricket's World Cup; a Gitmo trial for the 9/11 guru

COMMENTARY

22 | Viewpoint

Richard Haass on Syria's Bashar Assad: the devil we know

25 | In the Arena

Springtime in Cairo: Joe Klein measures the euphoria and the uncertainty

ON THE COVER:

Lincoln photograph from the American Antiquarian Society/Bridgeman Art Library. Tear by Tim O'Brien



Representative Paul Ryan unveils his budget proposal. Photograph by Jim Lo Scalzo—EPA

FEATURES

26 Ryan's Hope

A Republican offers a daring health care plan. Will Congress run the other way?
by Michael Crowley and Jay Newton-Smith

29 Obama's Nope

Ryancare challenges Obama—and hands him a golden opportunity *by Fareed Zakaria*

32 Intervention in Ivory Coast

The U.N. invokes the right-to-protect doctrine to oust a dictator *by Alex Perry*

36 She Ruled the Libyan Skies

Major General Margaret Woodward is the first woman to run a U.S. air-war campaign
by Mark Thompson

40 The Civil War, 150 Years Later

Most Americans can't agree on what the fighting was about *by David Von Drehle*

THE CULTURE

58 | Pop Chart

A bear market on Park Avenue; stunts from PETA and Betty White

60 | Profile

Russell Brand as that droll drunk Arthur

62 | Style

Kitsch me, Kate: the royal wedding spawns an industry of knockoffs and tchotchkes

64 | Books

Tina Fey's *Bossypants*: as smart as Sedaris and funnier than Palin

66 | Money

Inflation: the latest scare word that shouldn't scare you

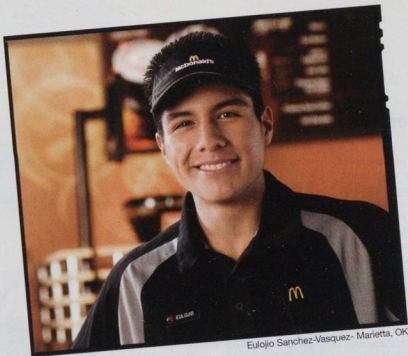
70 | Essay John

Cloud on Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind* at 75: a story of death and taxes

72 | 10 Questions

Robert Redford





Eulioj Sanchez-Vasquez- Marietta, OK

We believe

that when you say something,
people should be able to believe it.
So when we say our burgers are 100% USDA inspected beef,
it's because they are.
And when we say
a person can start out on a restaurant crew
and end up owning their own restaurant,
it's because more than 50% of our franchisees did it that way.
So did more than 75% of our restaurant managers
and many who work in our corporate offices.
And when we say
we're committed to diversity in hiring,
what we actually mean is that we're an industry leader,
from our restaurants to our supplier networks to our owners.
To be the best company we can,
we have to create the best opportunities.
And we'd like to believe that some of the best ones around,
are right here.



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Palestinian
People
Power

The Gas Dilemma

The
Minnesota
Clipper

EDITOR'S DESK

A Time for Honesty About Slavery



Slavery, as many have noted, was America's original sin. The Framers made an ugly compromise to ratify the Constitution, many of them knowing that the seed of disunion had been planted even as the Republic was born. Lincoln regarded the Declaration, not the Constitution, as the moral template for America, and even though he was not an extreme abolitionist, he saw "all men are created equal" as the vision statement for the nation. He knew and wrote that the Civil War would not have happened except for slavery.

On the 150th anniversary of the war, David Von Drehle's powerful cover story makes clear that "forgetting was the price of reconciliation." The war was so painful—as many as 1 in 5 young men in the country were wounded or killed—that both sides went into denial in their own ways. It was easier for survivors, and later for entire schools of historians, to frame the war in terms of a conflict over trade or states' rights than to face the terrible legacy of slavery on both sides of the Mason-Dixon Line. Even 150 years after the war started, it is necessary to examine the truth about the dreadful institution that caused it and the effect the war continues to have today.

To mark the anniversary, we are publishing two books: an unabridged electronic version of David's cover story called *Why They Fought*, available exclusively on Amazon.com as a Kindle Single, and a commemorative hardcover called *The Civil War: An Illustrated History*. It's a richly illustrated chronicle of the entire sweep of the conflict, including rare pictures, informative maps and an insightful introduction by renowned historical novelist Jeff Shaara. It's available wherever books are sold and at time.com/civilwarbook.

Rich

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR

THE CONVERSATION

Bryan Walsh's cover story "The Gas Dilemma" sparked a robust debate, 1,800 nods on Facebook and great waves of anxiety. ("The 'experts' who stand to gain will tell you there's nothing to worry about," read one comment, "while the pesky people who actually live with fracking wells in their backyards say, 'I lost my sense of smell and taste.'") Also driving traffic was Walsh's *Going Green* column "The Morality of Meatime," about the limitations of a foodie movement that embraces meat. This week saw the launch of the 2011 TIME 100 poll, in which readers vote on the most influential people in the world; Korean pop star Rain quickly took a decisive lead. The poll winner will be published in the TIME 100 issue, on newsstands April 22.



MAIL

Power Brokers



Re Bryan Walsh's "The Gas Dilemma" [April 11]: Will it matter that we have lots of gas for power if we have large swaths of our country polluted and unfit for human life? I wish I were more inclined to believe the industry won't just sell all the gas overseas for quick profit and violate its solemn promises to safeguard our water and earth. The BP oil spill, Japan's nuclear disaster and the knowledge that our nuclear industry does not have adequate safeguards make it hard to sleep at night. Let's go solar and wind.

Cecile Bodnar, CANANDAIGUA, N.Y.

With all its high environmental costs, shale gas can't really be expected to solve the energy crisis. TIME should research and do a cover story on thorium as a long-term solution to generating energy. This low-level radioactive metal used in a liquid fluoride thorium reactor could be a safe, clean and almost limitless source of energy.

Paul Justus, EUREKA SPRINGS, ARK.

I was disappointed in how little time you spent addressing the relationship between natural gas and climate change. You say gas's benefit is "less clear-cut, but it's there." There is a growing body of evidence, most importantly work about to be published by Robert Howarth, that it's not there. If the production of shale gas moves us in the wrong direction regarding climate change, that is a very serious mistake. This question deserves the thorough coverage for which your magazine has distinguished itself.


Wes Ernsberger, OWEGO, N.Y.

As the 2010 documentary *Gasland* makes clear, water contamination caused by hydraulic fracking is very real. (In the film, a man holds a lighter next to water running from his kitchen faucet, creating a fireball explosion.) Hopefully the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission has not been contaminated, too, by contributions from energy-industry lobbyists.

Peter O'Reilly, JERSEY CITY, N.J.

Grave Matters

There are a number of points in Mark Benjamin's story on Arlington National Cemetery we take exception to [April 11].



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THE GIANT BUDDHA
OR TAKING THE FERRY.

OR SIMPLY CONTINUING TO
observe THE WORLD FROM ABOVE.

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SOUND OFF

'Bachmann reminds those of us in her district of a cheerleader—she can whip up a frenzy but has nothing substantial to say on the issues. If she were to win the nomination, the embarrassment we now feel will be felt by millions of Republican voters.'

John Oldendorf
Lake Elmo, Minn.



One omission in particular will mislead TIME's readers. Arlington National Cemetery is prohibited by law from exhuming grave sites without cause. The Code of Federal Regulations provides that "disinterments will be permitted only for cogent reasons." However, the story claims that "the Army now plans to make only educated guesses about the identity of remains rather than digging in the dirt to be sure." It is not a matter of will not but cannot—a fact Benjamin was made aware of.

Stephen R. Lanza, Major General, U.S. Army,
Chief of Public Affairs, WASHINGTON

I am horrified but not surprised by your story on the burial-site confusion at Arlington National Cemetery. As a U.S. citizen who has never served, I am ashamed to have asked these men and women to serve in my place and now deny them even the simple dignity of a proper burial. What does it say about us if we can spend billions on weapons systems that are never used but treat our veterans with such complacency?

John J. Barton, DOWNTOWN, PA.

Working for Peace

As a former teacher of English in Sidon, Lebanon, who had Palestinian students from the Ein el-Helweh camp and as someone who has been working for peace for 50 years, I saw great hope in the picture of Fadi Quran and his March 15 movement ["Palestinian People Power," April 11]. I hope the U.S. will look to people like Fadi to help mediate a peaceful settlement between the Palestinian territories and Israel.

Rita Reynolds Gehrenbeck,
VADNAIS HEIGHTS, MINN.

Toward the end of an otherwise important piece, Joe Klein destroys his credibility by referring to "near daily outrages perpetrated by Jewish settlers." What outrages? I do not recall ever reading of situations in which Jewish people, settlers or otherwise, perpetrated the sort of unprovoked atrocities committed by Arabs. The recent stabbings of the Fogel family, which you did not cover, have nothing to do with Palestinians' desire to control their own destiny.

David Lubin, WEST HEMPSTEAD, N.Y.



FROM THE ARCHIVES

[Abraham Lincoln] has become a figure half out of folklore, half out of schoolbooks, as worn and familiar as the coin that bears his likeness. A century ago he carried out the most dramatic act of liberation in man's memory. However cogently historians may insist that the Civil War was not "about" slavery, the world will always see in it one overriding issue: whether any man is fit to hold permanent power over the life and liberty of another. —May 10, 1963

Nonviolence among Palestinians is not new. The recently released book *Popular Resistance in Palestine*, by Mazin Qumsiyeh, documents over 100 years of everyday acts of resistance, with suicide bombings and rocket attacks as the exception. The world needs to hear more about these courageous acts.

Peggy Vander Meulen,
GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.

Bachmann Overdrive

I cannot conceive of the type of person who can listen to Michele Bachmann or read what she has said and think she is anything other than a gigantic joke played upon us by the people of her Minnesota district ["The Minnesota Clipper," April 11]. Yet her lack of knowledge of our history and misunderstanding of the Constitution apparently are not problematic for those who make decisions based on the 30-second sound bite. Yes, there is a vacuum out there, Ed Brookover [Bachmann's political consultant], and it is called Michele Bachmann.

Annette Jackson, PETERSBURG, VA.

Just Bat Already

I like your idea of a pitch clock to keep baseball games moving ["Play Ball!" April 11]. But my suggestion is to make the batter stay in the batter's box. They step out after every pitch and adjust their gloves, shrug their shoulders and shake their bat a few times. Some even walk a few steps away from the box. If batting gloves are such a problem, they should be banned.

Bob Sharples, ERIE, PA.

WRITE TO US

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Briefing

'If you want to be technical ...
I guess we broke our word.'

1. **TERRY JONES**, Florida pastor who led a Koran burning in March despite saying in September that he would not torch the sacred Muslim text—"not today, not ever"; deadly protests raged in Afghanistan in response

'As I have been saying since Day One, these terror trials belong in a military commission at Guantánamo. I am absolutely shocked that it took Attorney General Holder 507 days to come to this realization.'

2. **PETER KING**, chair of the U.S. House Homeland Security Committee, reacting to the Obama Administration's announcement that 9/11 suspects would be tried in military tribunals rather than civilian courts

'The key strategy here in recovering
this snake was patience.'

3. **JIM BREHENY**, director of the Bronx Zoo, after a sneaky Egyptian cobra, on the loose for a week, was discovered in the zoo's Reptile House, just a short distance from her enclosure

'Now they don't need to kill people, but by detaining people ... they think they can snuff out criticism.'

4. **AI XIAOMING**, academic and filmmaker, comparing China's present-day stance on dissent—Chinese artist and government critic Ai Weiwei was detained on April 3—with the violent suppression of the Tiananmen Square protests

'Without question, 41 points and 12 of 64 is not good enough
to win any game, let alone the national championship.'

5. **BRAD STEVENS**, coach of Butler University's men's basketball team, which lost to the University of Connecticut in a dismal NCAA title game; the final score was 53-41



\$20,433

Amount of money that domain registrar Namecheap said it raised for Save the Elephants by getting people to transfer from competitor Go Daddy; the effort was inspired by a video of Go Daddy's CEO killing an elephant in Zimbabwe

700

Approximate number of flights canceled by Southwest Airlines in the days after a hole in one of its 737s caused an emergency landing

75

Age of what is touted as Britain's oldest working television set; it will be auctioned in London April 19



1 IN 4

Proportion of baby boomers in an Associated Press-LifeGoesStrong.com poll who say they'll never retire; about the same percentage, the AP also notes, say they have no retirement savings



Shooting
Closeup



4/4/11

Afghanistan

FLORIDA PREACHER TERRY JONES' public burning of a Koran on March 20 was ignored by most. But Afghan President Hamid Karzai's condemnation of the act sparked protests across Afghanistan that left at least 20 people dead, including seven U.N. workers. Thousands of men waving Taliban flags rioted in Kandahar, and these protesters in Nangarhar province burned the pastor in effigy. —CLAIRE SUDDATH

RAHMAT GUL—AP



World



Nuclear Confusion at Fukushima

JAPAN For days, scientists and engineers scrambled to plug a leak in Reactor 2 at the tsunami-struck Fukushima Daiichi nuclear plant. Thousands of tons of radioactive water spewed into the ocean, prompting howls of protest from local fishermen fearful of the potential environmental damage to their livelihood. Japanese seafood exports are expected to plummet. The plant's operator, the Tokyo Electric Power Co., has been widely criticized for its inability to contain the disaster. On April 6, workers stemmed the radioactive outflow with "water glass" made of sodium silicate—earlier failed attempts had included newspaper and sawdust. It's a minor victory in what will still be a prolonged battle to safely cool the fuel rods at the plant's four crippled reactors.

An Israeli Stealth Attack?

SUDAN The Israel Defense Forces had nothing to say April 6 about the previous evening's mysterious air strike on a car near Port Sudan, a city on the Red Sea coast near Sudan's border with Egypt. Sudanese officials claim that the attack, which killed the car's two occupants, was carried out by Israeli aircraft. Palestinian militant groups like Hamas have relied on the Red Sea route via Sudan and Egypt to obtain weaponry, often sent from Iran. If the pair in the car were gunrunners, they weren't the first to be targeted. In 2009, Israel attacked a convoy in the same area, killing dozens.



Martelly promises a "new era"

Musician Wins Election Runoff

HAITI Supporters greeted smooth-headed former Carnival musician Michel "Sweet Micky" Martelly with chants of "Tet Kele" (bald head) in celebration of his presumed victory in the March 20 presidential runoff. Early results showed Martelly with a commanding lead over former First Lady Mirlande Manigat. Martelly campaigned as a rebel aiming to shake up the establishment, but in speeches, he has bared a soft spot for the authoritarian rule of Haiti's past, leaving many to ponder whether the popular showman will be a true democrat or a demagogue.

Artist Detained In Growing Crackdown

BEIJING

Al Weiwei, China's most prominent dissident after imprisoned Nobel laureate Liu Xiaobo, was detained April 3 at the Beijing airport as he tried to board a flight to Hong Kong. Perhaps best known for co-designing the 2008 Beijing Olympic stadium known as the Bird's Nest, Al is an outspoken critic of the government and has been



detained several times. During one period in custody, he was allegedly beaten so badly that he required brain surgery. This arrest comes amid a widespread crackdown touched off by online calls for a Tunisian-style "jasmine revolution." Over the past several weeks, at least 26 activists have been detained, 200 have been put under house arrest, and more than 30 have disappeared.

World by the Numbers





Caught in The Storm

ITALY As many as 250 people were missing after a fishing boat overloaded with refugees and migrants from North Africa sank near the Italian island of Lampedusa, located about 70 miles (110 km) off the Tunisian coast. The island has been overwhelmed by more than 20,000 people fleeing turmoil in Tunisia and Libya.

Gaddafi Hangs On, and the War Grinds On

LIBYA Control over a cluster of strategic oil towns seesawed between rebel fighters and troops loyal to Muammar Gaddafi as the conflict bogged down into a smaller-scale war of attrition. After the defections of key aides and generals, reports claimed that elements within the Gaddafi regime were in negotiation with European leaders over a possible cease-fire. But Gaddafi's forces continued to shell the rebel-held city of Misratah, prompting rebel leaders to vent their frustration over NATO's perceived inaction.

LIBYA: A REBELS' GALLERY

ALI AL-ESSAWI
Formerly ambassador to India, al-Essawi was one of the first prominent figures in the government to quit and join the opposition. Since then, he's become the main foreign envoy of the rebels' Transitional National Council (TNC)

MAHMOUD GEBRIL
The acting Prime Minister, Gebрил is a U.S.-educated academic who pushed for reform and privatization while serving as a technocrat in the Gaddafi regime

ABDUL FATTEH YOUNES
One of Gaddafi's top-ranking generals and a former Interior Minister, Younes defected in February and has since spearheaded the rebel war effort. His experience is invaluable, though some rebels resent his previous affiliation with the regime

KHALIFA HEFTAR
A military commander who defected to the U.S. more than two decades ago, Heftar has returned to find himself pitted in a power struggle with Younes

MUSTAFA ABDUL JALIL
The chairman of the TNC, Jalil is a religious conservative and a respected jurist. He was formerly Justice Minister, in which capacity his efforts to clamp down on arbitrary arrests won the praise of foreign diplomats. Jalil is one of the main architects of the rebel government

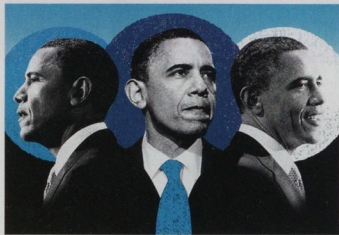


A wounded antigovernment protester gets attention on April 5

For Now, the Only Endgame Is Bloodshed

YEMEN Uniformed police officers and plainclothes thugs fired on antigovernment protesters in the city of Taiz, killing at least 11 and wounding scores more. President Ali Abdullah Saleh, the embattled tyrant whose three-decade rule has unraveled in recent months, appears to be backed into a corner, with Washington, once a staunch ally, now urging for a peaceful transition of power. Saleh is scheduled to attend negotiations with members of the opposition in Saudi Arabia, but few expect that he'll agree to the widespread demands for his immediate exit.

Nation



The Big Questions

By Mark Halperin

Why did President Obama announce his re-election campaign in April? He has no Democratic challenger (so far), and none of the major Republicans jockeying to run against him have officially entered the race. But Obama's strategists want to open local offices in Iowa, New Hampshire and Nevada to make contact with swing voters and make mischief with the GOP opposition. And with Obama's online donations likely to lag behind their 2008 pace (his policies and the realities of White House life have turned off some liberal supporters), the President's money gatherers need to start banking checks. The mind-boggling target: \$1 billion.

Will Obama's 2012 campaign resemble 2008? Aides say the President will try to focus on his Oval Office duties until fairly late in 2012 so that by the time he gets going, he'll be running a sprint, not sprinting a marathon. Another difference: he's no longer the scrappy outsider; he's flying Air Force One. And his team will be split for the first time: 2008 campaign manager David Plouffe is ensconced in the White House, while strategist David Axelrod will run the campaign from Chicago. Obama advisers swear this won't be a problem, but a bifurcated command has upended other campaigns before.

Is Obama the favorite or an underdog? The favorite. Political bookmakers see Obama as better than even money to win a second term, thanks to his fundraising strength, political experience and skill—and the apparent weakness of the GOP field. But he will struggle to hold such swing states as Indiana, North Carolina, Virginia and Colorado, opening up the Electoral College bowl. A Republican who can compete in Florida, Ohio, Wisconsin and Iowa will have a real chance to beat him.

WISCONSIN

The Battle of Madison Spreads To the Courts

The hand-to-hand combat over new rules limiting the power of public unions in Wisconsin didn't end when Governor Scott Walker signed them into law on March 11; it merely changed venues. The new law is headed for a challenge at the state's supreme court later this year.

Which is why the election for the court's swing vote on April 5 turned into such a bloody proxy fight for special interests from around the country—as well as Wisconsin's closest race for an elected justice in over 40 years.

Two months ago, incumbent state supreme court justice David Prosser, who often casts the deciding 4-3 vote for the court's conservative bloc, beat moderate assistant attorney general JoAnne Kloppenburg in an open primary vote, 55% to 25%. (Wisconsin supreme court races are nonpartisan; under law, the two top vote getters compete in a runoff.) When the votes in the April 5 runoff were

counted, the outcome flipped: Kloppenburg, 57, led Prosser, 68, by 204 ballots out of nearly 1.5 million cast. State election officials were still counting on April 6.

It had been clear for weeks that the runoff was going to be something of a national re-enactment of Wisconsin's long midwinter battle in the rotunda. The Brennan Center at New York University Law School calculated that interest groups spent a record \$3.5 million on TV ads during the race, with Prosser's supporters outspending

.01%

Percentage separating Wisconsin's supreme court candidates after nearly 1.5 million votes

Kloppenburg's nearly 2 to 1. Prosser's campaign ads portraying Kloppenburg as soft on crime, while Kloppenburg's backers dug up Prosser's decision as a district attorney in 1978 not to prosecute a priest who was later convicted of sexually abusing a child.

Serving 10-year terms, Wisconsin's elected justices rarely lose their races for re-election; the last time it happened was in 1967. If Kloppenburg prevails, it may lead to a weakening of the controversial measure that limits collective bargaining by public employees. If Prosser pulls it out, it is more likely that Walker's reforms will survive intact. State law allows either candidate in a contest this close to ask for a recount, which means the Battle of Madison is almost certain to continue for weeks.

—MASSIMO CALABRESI



Wisconsin Governor Scott Walker

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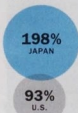
Economy

Japan's Recession? The devastating effects of the disaster are finally being tallied

Japan's manufacturing sector suffered a sharp downturn in March



Government debt-to-GDP ratio: Japan vs. the U.S.



37%

Decrease in Japan's domestic car sales in March

1.4%

Capital Economics' predicted contraction of Japan's GDP for 2011

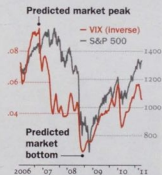
SOURCES: MARKIT, OECD, CAPITAL ECONOMICS



Rolling blackouts darken Tokyo, which faces a long, hot and underproductive summer with a 20% shortfall in power. The metro area accounts for a third of Japan's economic output

STOCKS

Fear Factor. Roiling markets can be good for growth



Japan's earthquake spooked investors. But the jitters could actually help U.S. markets grow. After Japan's disaster, the market's "fear gauge," a measure of volatility called the VIX, nearly doubled to 29 from its mid-February low, the biggest jump in 10 months. That put a damper on stocks; the S&P 500 dropped 6% the same month. Rising volatility and falling stock prices typically go hand in hand, since fear makes investors recoil from riskier bets. But the opposite is also true: when volatility starts to fall, stock prices usually begin to rise. And some experts believe that during bull markets like this one, spikes in volatility can be a healthy catalyst for growth. "After a reality check like Japan, people think, What hasn't killed us makes us stronger," says Auerbach Grayson analyst Richard Ross.

After its initial spike, the VIX dropped 45% in the week after Japan's quake, the biggest dive in the index's history. Since then, volatility has hovered around 17, below its average of 18 last year and 27 in 2009. And stock prices are on the rise. Of course, volatility could bounce back. Troubles aren't over for Japan, Europe or the Middle East. But in the next year, Goldman Sachs predicts, volatility will continue to fall, as investors adapt to those risks and as the U.S. economy improves. While Japan seemed like a major market event, investors have already moved on.

—ROYA WOLVERSON

As the human toll from last month's earthquake and tsunami in Japan becomes clear, so does the damage done to the world's third largest economy. Early signs suggest that the disaster could push Japan into another recession. In March, the Markit/JMMA purchasing managers' index, which measures the robustness of manufacturing, showed that Japan suffered the steepest one-month plunge in the survey's history. Research firm Capital Economics forecasts that Japan's economy will contract 1.4% in 2011. Though painful for Japan, the impact on the global economy might be limited, since the country sells more to the rest of the world than it buys from it. The more dangerous aftershocks could take place later, if the quake significantly worsens the country's feeble financial finances. (Government debt is about 200% of GDP, the highest in the rich world.) The cost of reconstruction and possible delays in budget cutting could heighten the risk of a debt crisis, which could create a quake that shakes the world. —MICHAEL SCHUMAN

Health & Science



Decoding Cancer. The first map of breast-tumor genomes could revolutionize patient care

By Alice Park

TREATING CANCER IS A BIT LIKE SHOOTING IN THE DARK. SOMETIMES IT works. Sometimes it doesn't. There's no way to predict. That's because while scientists have some crude ideas about how to disable cancer cells, the inner workings of cancer are a mystery for the most part.

Perhaps not for long. Researchers have just sequenced the entire DNA code of one type of breast-cancer tumor. The team, led by scientists at Washington University School of Medicine, began the project using tumor samples from 50 women enrolled in another of their studies. All the women had breast tumors that contained estrogen receptors, but only about half the patients had responded to drugs that targeted the receptors. To figure out why, the researchers sequenced the whole genomes of the breast cancers of all 50 women.

The genetic maps provided some intriguing clues: the patients' tumors harbored more than 1,700 genetic mutations, most of which were unique to the women in whom they originated. Of the few gene mutations shared by many of the women, some were familiar—previously associated with cancer in other studies—and some were completely new. Those aberrations could help explain why the women responded differently to the drugs. And although the sheer number of genetic abnormalities suggests that cancer may vary from one person to the next, most of the changes actually fed into common pathways of tumor development. These, say the authors, could become targets of broadly useful new drugs. Indeed, there are already drugs on the market that address six of the mutations, and doctors are eager to test their effectiveness against breast cancer.

A similar genetic dossier from dozens of tumors exists for one other cancer, multiple myeloma. Together, these sets of genomes represent a new era in cancer treatment, in which doctors may finally be able to match each patient to the best possible treatment.

ALZHEIMER'S Scientists Identify Five New Genes

In a genetic analysis of more than 50,000 people, researchers have discovered five new genes that raise the risk of late-onset Alzheimer's disease. The additions, which bring the total number of known risk genes to 10, are associated with the disorder's most common form, which affects up to 50% of people over age 80.

Experts are excited because the newly revealed genes involve things that scientists have long suspected of playing a role in Alzheimer's but have never been able to confirm: high cholesterol, inflammation and the way cells ferry molecules around.

Already existing genetic risk factors are generally related to the formation and accumulation in the brain of the disease's hallmark amyloid plaques.

The new genes together may account for only about 35% of late-onset Alzheimer's cases, but the novel processes they implicate could provide fresh targets for better drugs. Currently, the best medications can only alleviate, not prevent, the main symptom, memory loss. It's a long way from genes to therapy, but the new discoveries are an important step in that direction. —A.P.



DIET Fasting for Your Heart

Starving yourself isn't healthy, but periodic fasts may actually be good for your ticker.

Researchers in Utah show that a 24-hour fast can lead to favorable changes in cholesterol and blood-sugar levels, which suggests that supervised fasting may help combat heart-disease risk. But even the authors aren't ready to endorse it just yet—at least not until further work reveals whether there is a safe way to skip calories. Not eating triggers the stress response, so repeated episodes of fasting may end up straining and damaging the heart. —A.P.

VITAL SIGNS

67%

Percentage greater risk of heart disease in people who regularly work more than 11 hours a day compared with those who work standard seven- or eight-hour days, according to an 11-year study of 7,095 British workers

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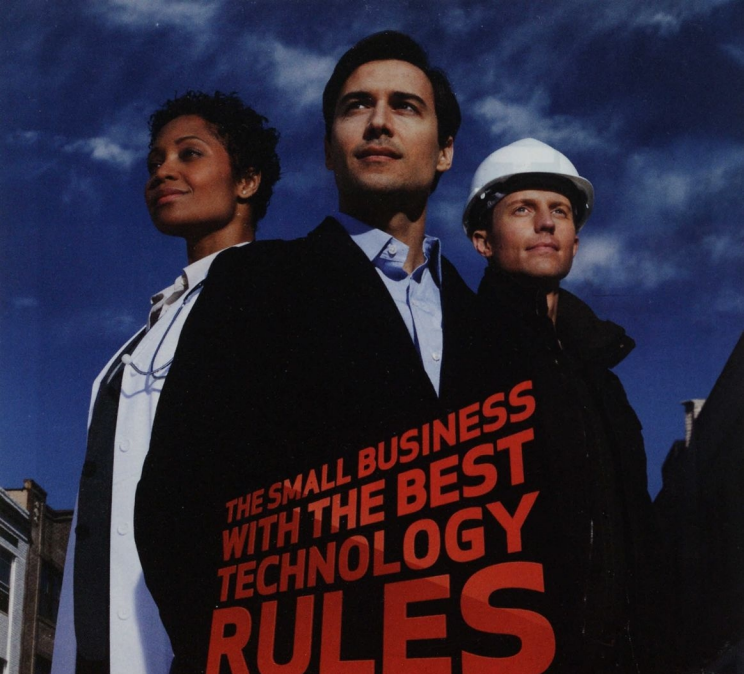
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Milestones



WON The Cricket World Cup

India last captured cricket's top trophy in 1983 in England, when it was the unlikely upstart that toppled the dominant West Indies. That year's match was the first World Cup televised in India and a rare appearance on the international stage for the young, poor nation.

India's expectations are much bigger these days. It is by far the most powerful nation in the sport, as its booming economy feeds satellite-television advertising, corporate sponsorship and a new professional league that has transformed the genteel pastime into a Bollywood-worthy spectacle. The six-week-long tournament in Mumbai, which ended April 2, delivered plenty of drama, including a semifinal between India and Pakistan that briefly turned bitter enemies into friendly competitors.

Heavily favored, India reached the final to play former champion Sri Lanka. India had one legendary advantage: Sachin Tendulkar, the world's greatest batsman. Sri Lanka's fierce bowling dismissed him, and India faltered until its young captain, Mahendra Singh Dhoni, steadied the team. His game-winning blast over the boundary was cricket's version of a walk-off home run. As the crowd exploded, Dhoni looked past them toward the TV audience of 1.2 billion. He smiled straight into the camera, with the easy confidence of a nation in full stride. —JYOTI THOTTAM

DEPARTING Glenn Beck

Glenn Beck arrived at Fox News alongside the rise of conservative anxiety and a sense of apocalyptic doom about the Obama Administration. Quite literally—his show started the same week as the President's Inauguration. Beck quickly began to post prime-time-like numbers at 5 p.m., becoming known for his sometimes-awkward tears, generous use of chalkboards and, above all, doomsaying. The man was not a success by accident: he knew how to make compelling TV. But Beck's rants caused issues for Fox as he increasingly became the face of the network. Advertising dollars can excuse a lot of controversy, but Beck also began to bleed ratings, which led to the announcement April 6 that he will end his show this year. The same attributes that make one a star can eventually become too much to handle. In this case, no conspiracy theory is necessary; Beck's departure, like his rise, was an inside job. —JAMES PONIEWOZIK



ANNOUNCED A Gitmo Trial for Khalid Sheikh Mohammed

In the most significant policy reversal in its fight against terrorism, the Obama Administration announced that professed Sept. 11 mastermind Khalid Sheikh Mohammed and four others accused of planning the surprise attacks will be tried in a military tribunal at Guantánamo Bay rather than in a courthouse near Ground Zero in lower Manhattan. In December, Congress blocked funds to prosecute the suspects in civilian courts, ultimately forcing the White House to try them at the military base that President Obama has yet to shutter, despite pledging to do so in his first year in office.

NAMED
Debbie Wasserman Schultz, as the new Democratic National Committee chair; she replaces Tim Kaine, who is running for the U.S. Senate in Virginia

ANNOUNCED
The exhumation of a Florentine woman suspected of sitting for Leonardo da Vinci's *Mona Lisa*; archaeologists hope to prove whether she was the model



OPENED
The Watergate Gallery at the Richard Nixon Presidential Library; the new exhibit aims to give a more truthful version of the scandal than its previous account

FOUND
The remains of three women near a beach in Long Island, New York. Eight bodies have now been recovered, all thought to be victims of a serial killer

DIED
Manning Marable, the Columbia University historian whose anticipated revisionist book on black nationalist leader Malcolm X was released just days after his death

BOUGHT
Bankrupt video renter Blockbuster, by satellite TV provider Dish Network for \$320 million, which may help the company stream movies online

Richard Haass



The Revolution Stops Here How Syria's Bashar Assad is bucking the trend in the Middle East

SHEIK YUSUF AL-QARADAWI, THE influential Qatar-based Islamic scholar, recently preached that the "train of the Arab revolution" had arrived in Syria. Syria could well be ripe for upheaval. Like Egypt and Libya, it has been run by a single family, one that lacks the legitimacy of a bona fide monarchy, for 40 years. And like Bahrain, Syria is ruled by a minority: its controlling elite (the Alawi sect of Shi'ite Islam) represents less than 15% of the total population of just over 22 million.

On the other hand, Syria under the Assad family remains tightly controlled. There are multiple security organs run by trusted Alawis. There is also a legacy of brutality against internal opponents. In 1982, then President Hafez Assad—the father of the current President, Bashar Assad—ordered the massacre of an estimated 20,000 in the city of Hama after the Muslim Brotherhood seized control there.

I came to know the father two decades

ago, when I was the senior Middle East hand on the National Security Council staff. A meeting with Hafez was something of an ordeal; one had to withstand lectures on the Crusades that stretched for hours, without a bathroom break, lest one appear weak. (Like other American diplomats, I quickly learned to avoid drinking the tea.) He was an unsentimental pragmatist. In 1990, after the invasion of Kuwait, he joined the coalition against Saddam Hussein, and a year later, he was the first leader from the region to accept the U.S. invitation to attend the Middle East peace conference in Madrid. He did all this not because he loved either peace or America but to make sure Hussein could not dominate the region and to curry favor with the U.S., which, he calculated, would be highly influential in the aftermath of the Cold War.

His son Bashar is in many ways an accidental autocrat. It was his brother Basil who was being groomed for the job; Bashar went off to become an eye doctor in London. When Basil was killed in a car accident in 1994, the young eye doctor found himself thrust into politics. He inherited his father's position in 2000, portraying himself as a reformer but failing to deliver. Some Syria watchers were inclined to give him the benefit of



Accidental autocrat Bashar Assad addresses parliament

the doubt, arguing that he would bring reforms as soon as he had consolidated his position vis-à-vis the old guard that had surrounded his father and now constrained him. They cited Bashar's interview in late January of this year with the *Wall Street Journal* in which he hinted at gradual political reform. But his people got tired of waiting. Inspired by events in Tunisia and Egypt, activists took to the streets in several cities in mid-March. There were violent clashes between demonstrators and police. Around 100 Syrians, mostly young people, lost their lives.

Bashar had two choices: he could choose reform, making concessions to

co-opt the protesters, or he could choose physical repression. His televised speech on March 30 was a disappointment. Contrary to expectations, he did not repeal the 1963 emergency law that grants the government extraordinary powers to limit dissent. He attributed the protests to an anti-Syrian external conspiracy. There were no political changes.

So for now at least, Bashar appears to have opted for a crackdown over change. He may get away with it. Governments tend to keep power if they remain unified and can call on security forces to quell resistance. Bashar enjoys the support not only of his fellow Alawis but also of many of the country's majority Sunnis,

who welcome continued Assad rule because it promises stability and a secular society. Or, as in Egypt and Tunisia, the Syrian regime may prove more brittle than we know.

Either way, outsiders, including the U.S., will have little influence over Syria's future. They can and should call for meaningful political change and increased sanctions, but this regime is strong and tenacious. Libya is not a model: a no-fly zone would be irrelevant, expanded sanctions would receive little international support, and Arab backing for regime change would be close to

nonexistent. Interestingly, Israel may not want regime change in Damascus either. The two countries are sworn enemies, and Syria is close to Israel's deadliest foes: Hizballah, Hamas and Iran. But for all that, the border between the two countries remains mostly quiet. While Israelis would welcome a European-style democracy for a neighbor, they fear Bashar would more likely be succeeded by radical Islamists. As they say in Tel Aviv, Better the devil you know than the devil you don't. ■

Haass is the president of the Council on Foreign Relations



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*Based on 6-week clinical studies comparing ABILIFY + antidepressant versus antidepressant alone.

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IMPORTANT INFORMATION ABOUT ABILIFY (aripiprazole)

ABILIFY® (a BIL i fi) (aripiprazole) R_x ONLY

This summary of the Medication Guide contains risk and safety information for patients about ABILIFY. This summary does not include all information about ABILIFY and is not meant to take the place of discussions with your healthcare professional about your treatment. Please read this important information carefully before you start taking ABILIFY and discuss any questions about ABILIFY with your healthcare professional.

What is the most important information I should know about ABILIFY?

Serious side effects may happen when you take ABILIFY, including:

- **Increased risk of death in elderly patients with dementia-related psychosis:** Medicines like ABILIFY can raise the risk of death in elderly people who have lost touch with reality (psychosis) due to confusion and memory loss (dementia). ABILIFY is not approved for the treatment of patients with dementia-related psychosis.
- **Risk of suicidal thoughts or actions:** Antidepressant medicines, depression and other serious mental illnesses, and suicidal thoughts or actions:

Antidepressant medicines may increase suicidal thoughts or actions in some children, teenagers, and young adults within the first few months of treatment. Depression and other serious mental illnesses are the most important causes of suicidal thoughts and actions. Some people may have a particularly high risk of having suicidal thoughts or actions including people who have (or have a family history of) bipolar illness (also called manic-depressive illness) or suicidal thoughts or actions.

How can I watch for and try to prevent suicidal thoughts and actions in myself or a family member?

- Pay close attention to any changes, especially sudden changes, in mood, behaviors, thoughts, or feelings. This is very important when an antidepressant medicine is started or when the dose is changed.
- Call the healthcare provider right away to report new or sudden changes in mood, behavior, thoughts, or feelings.
- Keep all follow-up visits with the healthcare provider as scheduled. Call the healthcare provider between visits as needed, especially if you have concerns about symptoms.

Call a healthcare provider right away if you or your family member has any of the following symptoms, especially if they are new, worse, or worry you:

- thoughts about suicide or dying, attempts to commit suicide, new or worse depression, new or worse anxiety, feeling very agitated or restless, panic attacks, trouble sleeping (insomnia), new or worse irritability, acting aggressive, being angry, or violent, acting on dangerous impulses, an extreme increase in activity and talking (mania), other unusual changes in behavior or mood.

What else do I need to know about antidepressant medicines?

- **Never stop an antidepressant medicine without first talking to a healthcare provider.** Stopping an antidepressant medicine suddenly can cause other symptoms.
- **Antidepressants are medicines used to treat depression and other illnesses.** It is important to discuss all the risks of treating depression and also the risks of not treating it. Patients and their families or other caregivers should discuss all treatment choices with the healthcare provider, not just the use of antidepressants.
- **Antidepressant medicines have other side effects.** Talk to the healthcare provider about the side effects of the medicine prescribed for you or your family member.
- **Antidepressant medicines can interact with other medicines.** Know all of the medicines that you or your family member takes. Keep a list of all medicines to show the healthcare provider. Do not start new medicines without first checking with your healthcare provider.

- **Not all antidepressant medicines prescribed for children are FDA approved for use in children.** Talk to your child's healthcare provider for more information.

What is ABILIFY (aripiprazole)?

ABILIFY is a prescription medicine used to treat:

- major depressive disorder in adults, as an add-on treatment to an antidepressant medicine when you do not get better with an antidepressant alone.

The symptoms of major depressive disorder (MDD) include feeling of sadness and emptiness, loss of interest in activities that you once enjoyed and loss of energy, problems focusing and making decisions, feeling of worthlessness or guilt, changes in sleep or eating patterns, and thoughts of death or suicide.

What should I tell my healthcare provider before taking ABILIFY?

Before taking ABILIFY, tell your healthcare provider if you have or had:

- diabetes or high blood sugar in you or your family; your healthcare provider should check your blood sugar before you start ABILIFY and also during therapy.
- seizures (convulsions).
- low or high blood pressure.
- heart problems or stroke.
- pregnancy or plans to become pregnant. It is not known if ABILIFY will harm your unborn baby.
- breast-feeding or plans to breast-feed. It is not known if ABILIFY will pass into your breast milk. You and your healthcare provider should decide if you will take ABILIFY or breast-feed. You should not do both.
- low white blood cell count.
- phenylketonuria. ABILIFY DISCMELT Orally Disintegrating Tablets contain phenylalanine.
- any other medical conditions.

Tell your healthcare provider about all the medicines that you take or recently have taken, including prescription medicines, non-prescription medicines, herbal supplements, and vitamins.

ABILIFY and other medicines may affect each other causing possible serious side effects. ABILIFY may affect the way other medicines work, and other medicines may affect how ABILIFY works.

Your healthcare provider can tell you if it is safe to take ABILIFY with your other medicines. Do not start or stop any medicines while taking ABILIFY without talking to your healthcare provider first. Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of your medicines to show your healthcare provider and pharmacist when you get a new medicine.

How should I take ABILIFY?

- Take ABILIFY exactly as your healthcare provider tells you to take it. Do not change the dose or stop taking ABILIFY yourself.
- ABILIFY can be taken with or without food.
- ABILIFY tablets should be swallowed whole.
- If you miss a dose of ABILIFY, take the missed dose as soon as you remember. If it is almost time for the next dose, just skip the missed dose and take your next dose at the regular time. Do not take two doses of ABILIFY at the same time.
- If you take too much ABILIFY, call your healthcare provider or poison control center at 1-800-222-1222 right away, or go to the nearest hospital emergency room.

What should I avoid while taking ABILIFY?

- Do not drive, operate heavy machinery, or do other dangerous activities until you know how ABILIFY affects you. ABILIFY may make you drowsy.
- Do not drink alcohol while taking ABILIFY.
- Avoid getting over-heated or dehydrated.
- Do not over-exercise.
- In hot weather, stay inside in a cool place if possible.
- Stay out of the sun. Do not wear too much or heavy clothing.
- Drink plenty of water.

What are the possible side effects of ABILIFY (aripiprazole)?

Serious side effects have been reported with ABILIFY including:

- **Neuroleptic malignant syndrome (NMS):** Tell your healthcare provider right away if you have some or all of the following symptoms: high fever, stiff muscles, confusion, sweating, changes in pulse, heart rate, or blood pressure. These may be symptoms of a rare and serious condition that can lead to death. Call your healthcare provider right away if you have any of these symptoms.
- **High blood sugar (hyperglycemia):** Increases in blood sugar can happen in some people who take ABILIFY. Extremely high blood sugar can lead to coma or death. If you have diabetes or risk factors for diabetes (such as being overweight or a family history of diabetes), your healthcare provider should check your blood sugar before you start ABILIFY and during therapy.
- **Call your healthcare provider if you have any of these symptoms of high blood sugar while taking ABILIFY:**
 - feel very thirsty, need to urinate more than usual, feel very hungry, feel weak or tired, feel sick to your stomach, feel confused, or your breath smells fruity.
- **Difficulty swallowing:** may lead to aspiration and choking.
- **Tardive dyskinesia:** Call your healthcare provider about any movements you cannot control in your face, tongue, or other body parts. These may be signs of a serious condition. Tardive dyskinesia may not go away, even if you stop taking ABILIFY. Tardive dyskinesia may also start after you stop taking ABILIFY.
- **Orthostatic hypotension (decreased blood pressure):** lightheadedness or fainting when rising too quickly from a sitting or lying position.
- **Low white blood cell count**
- **Seizures (convulsions)**

Common side effects with ABILIFY in adults include nausea, inner sense of restlessness/need to move (akathisia), vomiting, anxiety, constipation, insomnia, headache, restlessness, dizziness.

These are not all the possible side effects of ABILIFY. For more information, ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist.


Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.


General information about ABILIFY

- Store ABILIFY at room temperature, between 59°F to 86°F. Opened bottles of ABILIFY Oral Solution can be used for up to 6 months after opening, but not beyond the expiration date on the bottle. Keep ABILIFY and all medicines out of the reach of children.
- Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other than those listed in a Medication Guide. Do not use ABILIFY for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give ABILIFY to other people, even if they have the same condition. It may harm them.
- This summary contains the most important information about ABILIFY. If you would like more information, talk with your healthcare provider. For more information about ABILIFY visit www.abilify.com.

Tablets manufactured by Otsuka Pharmaceutical Co., Ltd., Tokyo, 101-8535 Japan or Bristol-Myers Squibb Company, Princeton, NJ 08543 USA

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Joe Klein



To read Joe's blog posts, go to time.com/swampland

Cairo's Unsettled Spring

Mubarak is gone. But Egyptians have no idea who or what comes next

ON APRIL 1, THE PEOPLE RETURNED TO Tahrir Square by the thousands—to remind the military government that they were still there and hoping for a clearer path to democracy, and because it was fun. The square was tricked out like a music festival, with competing stages: dozens of impromptu platforms for the Socialists, the Socialist Workers, the Egyptian Youth Union and various other secular subdivisions. There were trinket and food sellers moving through the crowd and young people with huge plastic bags picking up the litter. There were no police; I saw four young men break up and then calmly mediate a fistfight between two older men. But there was something missing in the festival of democracy: “The Muslim Brotherhood aren’t here today,” said my guide, Elijah Zarwan of the International Crisis Group. “They don’t need to protest anymore. They’re back in the neighborhoods, organizing.”

“We need to organize,” Mahmoud Salem, a popular blogger better known as Sandmonkey, tells me the next day as we sit at an outdoor café. “The largest youth party now is the Couch Party.” Actually, there is organizing aplenty going on in Egypt—but mostly from the top down, youth coalitions forming and splintering, business leaders and members of parliament announcing new parties almost every day. Not even the Muslim Brotherhood is immune: there was a split between the youth, who insisted on joining the Tahrir Square revolutionaries, and the elders—and now there’s another potential split between moderates and the extremists. “We don’t know what impact freedom will have on the Muslim Brotherhood,” a well-known student leader told me. “And I don’t care. If they’re for freedom, I’m for them.”

Indeed, the overwhelming sense that

you get from the chattering classes in Egypt, two months after the overthrow of Hosni Mubarak, is a kind of joyous confusion. Languorous debates take place over arcane constitutional codicils that no one knew existed before, or about whether Egypt should remain a presidential system or become a parliamentary democracy, or whether the parliamentary elections scheduled for September should come after the presidential elections



Revolt Protesters continue calls for democracy

scheduled for November. Some of the young people are suspicious of the military council running the country; others, like Abdallah Helmy of the Revolution Youth Union, have been meeting with the military and are convinced of its benign intent. “I feel as if my head is exploding,” says Sarrah Abdelrahman, of the eponymous Sarrahsword video blog, who is sitting with me and Sandmonkey—a true motormouth—at the café. “I feel bombarded with talk, talk, talk, but I am so happy too. I feel as if I have so much energy since the revolution.”

It is not just the young people. I speak with Nabil Fahmy, a former Egyptian ambassador to the U.S., and Omar Mohanna, chairman of the Suez Cement Co. Both

are realists. Both are worried about what sort of government will emerge, and both see the serious economic problems ahead, but both, in unguarded moments, are simply amazed by the events that have transpired. “My son is a prominent lawyer in London,” Mohanna tells me. “He came home to be part of the protests. Our whole family went together. And I’ve never seen anything like this, the young people picking up the litter. I tried to find a piece of litter to contribute, but there was none, it was so clean. My wife is a very secular woman, but I see her in an intense conversation with a veiled woman in black. It was incredible.”

And it remains incredible, as if all of educated Egypt is shell-shocked by its good fortune. The wisest of the protest leaders understand the euphoria can’t last forever, especially if there’s no appreciable change in the lives of the poor. “We have to get them to the point where they are eating bread instead of sifting through the trash for food,” says Wael Ghonim, the Google executive whose Facebook page helped launch the protests. “Bread, not trash” should be our next demand.” The Muslim Brotherhood has built its popularity from the bottom up, providing social services for the poor. The Brothers have said they will stand for no more than 35% of the seats in the parliamentary elections. But there is need for a credible counterforce, and none has emerged yet.

On a blustery Sunday evening, I attend a tent rally for a new secular political party started by a gazillionaire, who ambles onstage without an introduction and shrugs some remarks, punctuated by self-deprecating giggles. I don’t see three veiled women in a crowd of 500. Later, a well-known poet denounces Anwar Sadat from the stage; people are bemused, but they laugh and applaud. It begins to rain, hard, a sign of good fortune. It is, of course, springtime in Cairo. ■

RYAN'S HOPE

A Republican offers a daring plan to curb federal spending. Will anyone sign on?

BY MICHAEL CROWLEY AND JAY NEWTON-SMALL

THE STANDARD IMAGE OF A COST-cutting Washington politician is a certain kind of dour old man—a pinch-fisted Dickensian fussbudget who wags his finger and scolds Americans about living within their means. But on April 5, the U.S. met the new face of federal frugality in the form of Republican Congressman Paul Ryan.

Just 41 years old, with jet black hair and a touch of Eagle Scout to him, the House Budget Committee chairman unveiled an ambitious package of huge budget cuts designed to dig the country out of its crippling debt crisis. For Ryan, reining in spending is nothing less than an act of patriotic valor. "For too long, Washington has not been honest with the American people," he said. "We owe it to the country to give them an honest debate.... We're not just here so we can get this lapel pin that says we're a member of Congress. We are here to try and fix this country's problems."

Plenty of Republicans fear that Ryan's ideas could cost them those pins. His vision of \$6 trillion in budget cuts over the next decade is certainly bold. But it would mean fundamental changes to Medicare and Medicaid (though not Social Security—yet), which happen to be two of the U.S.'s favorite government programs. About 4 in 5 Americans consider protecting Social Security from big cuts more important than mopping up our national red ink, according to a March Reuters/IPSOS poll, and about

70% feel that way about Medicaid, which serves the poor and disabled, and Medicare. That's why so many politicians see the deficit as a nuclear reactor in the middle of a meltdown: rush in to repair it and you may absorb a lethal dose of radiation.

Ryan is taking that risk. His plan, says Republican political consultant Mark McKinnon, "will completely transform the fiscal debate. It will either be a brilliant blaze that illuminates Republican courage or a roaring fire that immolates the party in a spectacular political suicide." It shapes the debate over the nation's fiscal future just as the next presidential campaign is getting under way. And it could become the theme song of the 2012 Republican ticket, no matter which candidates are singing it. Already several Republican hopefuls, including Mitt Romney and Tim Pawlenty, have offered welcoming words, if not quite full endorsements.

The Obama White House, on the other hand, had a cool response, and liberals are already portraying Ryan as a heartless ideologue, noting that his approach would cut taxes for the wealthy. House minority leader Nancy Pelosi called the plan "a path to poverty for America's seniors [and] children and a road to riches for big oil."

Anticipating such attacks, some Republicans wish Ryan had waited for Democrats to offer their own plan. Yet Ryan argues that he just couldn't hold off any longer. "The Democrats clearly aren't taking up this challenge," Ryan told TIME. "They decided not to deal with this.... This

debt is literally going to get out of our control pretty soon."

Ryan sounds bold where others have been timid because he's spent years preparing for this moment. Before his 1998 election from a swing district in southeastern Wisconsin, dotted with industrial plants and lake resorts, he earned a degree in economics and political science at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, then went on to work for a series of GOP luminaries, including the late policy innovator Jack Kemp and think-tank founder William Bennett. Arriving in Congress when he was just 29, Ryan made a name for himself fast, burrowing into health care policy and showing an appetite for politically risky budget fights. It was enough to make even some of Ryan's colleagues question his political sense. (Some may just be jealous of his fast-rising stock: Sarah Palin, among others, has singled him out for praise.)

He may be a modern political star, but there's still something a little old-fashioned about Ryan, right down to his crow's-beak nose. Maybe it's the premature seriousness that comes from finding your father dead of a heart attack when you were 16 and then helping to care for a grandmother with Alzheimer's disease.

Now a married father of three, Ryan is a PowerPoint fanatic with an almost unsettling fluency in the fine print of massive budget documents. "I love the field of economics," Ryan says. "I have a knack for numbers. And I've just delved into this issue for my adult life, basically."

Of course, the U.S.'s political battlefields are littered with brave warriors who once spoke hopefully of taking on budgetary sacred cows. (Recall George W. Bush's dead-on-arrival push to overhaul Social Security in 2005 or Newt Gingrich's politically toxic bid to cut Medicare spending in 1995.) But Ryan is gambling that the climate is different today. Washington has talked ad nauseam about the need to shrink our debt before world financial markets lose faith in America's solvency, leading to unimaginable economic chaos. But when a bipartisan fiscal commission created by President Obama—who has repeatedly spoken of the need for deficit reduction—came up with a set of proposals in December, partisans on both sides bashed its ideas and Obama kept a cautious distance. Nor did Obama offer substantial deficit-reduction ideas in his State of the Union address. "When the President decided not to do anything in his budget, that's when I made my mind up," Ryan says.

Here's what Ryan came up with:

Health Care for Seniors. Ryan estimates he'd save more than \$2 trillion



over the next decade by transforming the government's two major health care programs and repealing Obama's 2010 health care law. Medicare, which provides health care for more than 45 million American seniors, already consumes about an eighth of federal spending, and its costs are set to explode as the baby boomers start retiring. Ryan would phase out Medicare's current mechanism, which reimburses health care providers without payout limits for patients, and begin federal payments to private health plans chosen by future seniors. Republicans say that competition would lower prices—and that seniors who can't count on automatic coverage will be more judicious about their health care consumption, which would also lower costs.

Critics worry that Ryan won't give seniors enough money to take care of themselves. His plan would cap Medicare payments at a rate slightly above inflation, far less than the rate health care costs are projected to grow—meaning that seniors would pay much more of the health care burden out of their own pockets (although Ryan's plan would provide extra assistance to some low-income seniors).

Ryan has partly insulated his vision from electoral backlash by exempting Americans 55 and over from any changes to their Medicare coverage, although GOP operatives worry that Democratic attacks will lead current seniors—who have the highest voter turnout—to believe otherwise.

Health Care for the Poor. Ryan would also blow up the Medicaid program, which

Can Democrats abide any real cuts to entitlement programs? Will Republicans ever tolerate tax hikes?

gives health care to more than 50 million Americans, mostly poor and disabled. He would save \$771 million over the next 10 years by cutting Medicaid and sending it as a block grant to states, which would be given new flexibility on how to spend the money. Some may find creative savings, but many—especially those under GOP control—are likely to cut benefits.

Taxes and Other Spending. Ryan proposes a scrubbing of the tax code that would wipe out hundreds of complex loopholes and apply the savings to lower income tax rates for everyone. (He would lower the top tax bracket from 35% to 25%.) But he wouldn't raise any new tax revenue—in part because new taxes are anathema to the GOP faithful. Ryan does not ask the wealthy or Big Business to help with the budget rescue; such a move, he says, would smother job growth. To the contrary, Ryan's plan would extend the Bush tax cuts on the wealthiest Americans, now set to expire in 2013, which would forgo \$700 billion in revenue over 10 years.

Ryan also wants deep budget reductions in nearly every category, saving up to \$925 billion by cutting spending back to 2008 levels and freezing it there for five years. That's quite a dramatic sum when you consider how much Congress has been fighting over a few tens of billions of dollars in this year's budget. The White House has been quick to point out that those cuts would hit popular programs, including Pell Grants to make college more affordable. A big exception is defense spending: Ryan endorses only the cuts already planned by Defense Secretary Robert Gates, amounting to \$78 billion over five years. Many defense experts believe the Pentagon could safely slash many times that amount.

And although Ryan is being called courageous for taking on Medicare and Medicaid, his plan punts on perhaps the most electrified political rail of all: Social Security. That program is still solvent, but as millions of baby boomers retire, it's going to start running big deficits. Ryan has talked before about reforming Social Security, but his latest plan simply calls for bipartisan action down the road. (He's also been criticized for peddling fuzzy math and rosy projections. A Washington Post fact check deemed his budget full of "dubious assertions, questionable assumptions and fishy figures.")

Even if lawmakers find the courage to act, Ryan's plan won't become law in anything like its current form. As long as Democrats control the Senate—at least

BUDGET BATTLE

The House Budget Committee's Path to Prosperity proposal claims it will cut spending, keep taxes low and create private-sector jobs

To pay down the debt the government continues to rack up ...

AS PERCENTAGE OF GDP



... spending must be cut or taxes raised

OBAMA'S 2012 BUDGET PROPOSAL

INCOME \$2.6 trillion

Income tax \$1.1 trillion	Social Security tax \$925 billion	Corporate income tax \$329 billion	Other: \$233 billion
SPENDING \$3.7 trillion			
Social Security \$767 billion	Defense \$724 billion	Income security \$532 billion	Medicare \$495 billion



Ryan's plan

To reduce deficits by \$4.4 trillion over 10 years, the proposal would cut \$6.2 trillion in spending compared with the President's proposal. Also among the plans:

Repeal new spending and taxes enacted under Obama's health care reform law

Transform Medicare into a program that subsidizes private insurance plans

through next year—no budget deal will be adopted without an O.K. from the Obama White House. (The 2010 health care law, for instance, won't be repealed so long as Obama holds a veto pen.) After that, it is harder to predict, but even some of Ryan's GOP colleagues are nervous about taking on entitlement programs. Ryan's backers say they have to start somewhere, however. "When you win an election, you have a responsibility to lead," says Republican Congressman Steve LaTourette of Ohio. Says Republican Senator Tom Coburn of Oklahoma: "If we don't do something on deficit reduction, [we] won't be here in a couple of years."

That's why Ryan's vision could provide a blueprint in the coming months for a grand budget deal between the parties later. The U.S. will reach its federal borrowing limit in early July and will default on its debt without a congressional vote authorizing more borrowing. Some Republican leaders want to tie major spending reductions to any such vote, although Obama officials discourage such talk.

The great unknown is whether the two parties are prepared for the kind of honest debate Ryan says Americans deserve. Can Democrats accept any significant cuts to entitlement programs? Will Republicans ever tolerate tax hikes? Obama said on April 5 that he's "looking forward to having that conversation." But in the shadow of the 2012 presidential campaign, in which both sides will be elbowing for any political advantage, that's not going to be easy. ■

HOW WILL OBAMA HANDLE RYANCARE?

Paul Ryan's sweeping budget plan is a character test for Barack Obama: Will he be a statesman or a candidate?

BY FAREED ZAKARIA



IT WAS FATEFUL that Paul Ryan released his budget plan the same week Barack

Obama launched his re-election campaign—because we will now see what matters most to Obama.

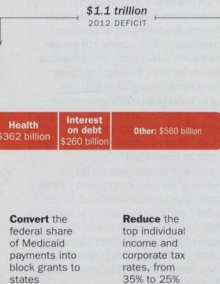
The President has talked passionately and consistently about the need to tackle the country's problems, act like grownups, do the hard things and win the future. But he has also skipped every opportunity to say how he'd tackle the gigantic problem of entitlements. Ryan's plan is deeply flawed, but it is courageous. It should prompt the President to say, in effect, "You're right about the problem. You're wrong about the solution. And here's how I would accomplish the same goal by more humane and responsible means." That would be the beginning of a great national conversation.

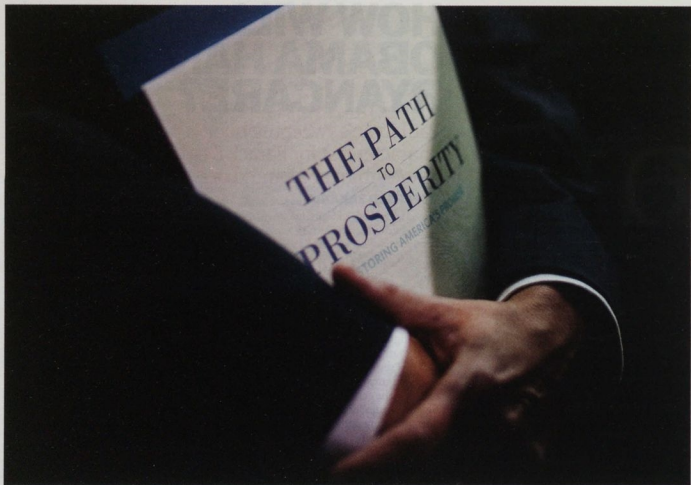
The liberal establishment is in full fury over Ryan's plan. From the New York Times to the influential website TPM (Talking Points Memo), all quickly denounced it. And it is an odd proposal from a man who seems genuinely committed to a comprehensive solution to the U.S.'s fiscal crisis. Ryan makes magical assumptions about growth—and thus tax revenues. He tells us that once his policies are enacted, unemployment will decline to 4%, a rate that the U.S. has not seen for nearly half a century. The plan does not specify the actual programs it would cut. So for all its supposed radicalism, it's actually quite weak at outlining reductions in government spending. The bulk of the deficit reduction—which allows for the large tax cuts in Ryan's plan—would come from changing American health care. But there,

too, Ryan's plan is highly unrealistic.

Over the past two years, Ryan has used the Congressional Budget Office's analysis of Obama's health care plan to criticize it relentlessly. Now the CBO has scored Ryan's plan, and it is a devastating critique. The main mechanism by which Ryan would cut costs on health care is to limit payments for Medicare and Medicaid. This would save money for the federal government, but it's not clear at all that it would lower health care prices for seniors or the poor. In fact, last year the CBO studied Ryan's voucher plan and concluded that it would raise costs because "future beneficiaries would probably face higher premiums in the private market for a package of benefits similar to that currently provided by Medicare." In other words, Medicare—the Walmart of American health care—can bargain for lower prices than an individual can.

The theory behind Ryan's health plan is that if individuals have to pay for their health care, they will shop carefully and drive down costs. But health is an unusual economic good and is unlikely to follow the usual market pattern. (Look at higher education: consumers pay for a large share of the total, and costs still rise at three times inflation every year.) In health care, a huge part of the expense relates to a small percentage of sick patients and to the last year of life (and those two categories overlap). Eighty-five percent of Medicare costs are generated by just 25% of patients. Even in the most conservative health care plan, the health savings account, people buy catastrophic insurance. Well, that sick 25% of the patient population would have catastrophic insurance, which would still explode the Medicare budget.





Gauntlet thrown At least Paul Ryan has put a plan on the table. Will Democrats take it as a challenge or use it as a weapon?

So why do I applaud the Ryan plan? Because it is a serious effort to tackle entitlement programs, even though any discussion of cuts in these programs—which are inevitable and unavoidable—could be political suicide. If Democrats don't like his budget ideas, they should propose their own—presumably without tax cuts and with stronger protections for Medicare and Medicaid and deeper reductions in defense spending. But they, too, must face up to the fiscal reality. The Government Accountability Office concludes that America faces a “fiscal gap” of \$99.4 trillion over the next 75 years, which would mean we would have to increase taxes by 50% or reduce spending by 35% simply to stop accumulating more debt. Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security will together make up 50% of the federal budget by 2021.

For liberals, the long-term fiscal crisis should seem devastating. If entitlement programs continue to grow, they will soon crowd out almost all other government spending. Washington Post blogger

Ezra Klein has pointed out that the federal government is now an insurance company with an army. This means that there will be little money left for programs to address income inequality, poverty, education, infrastructure, science and technology, research and all the other purposes of active, energetic government.

Liberals fear an attack on the welfare state, so they have become unthinking defenders of every aspect of that state. Consider Social Security. The left doesn't seem to understand that it has won the

Liberals fear an attack on the welfare state, so they have become unthinking defenders of every aspect of it

war. Conservatives long tried to turn Social Security into a set of individual retirement accounts. That failed, and now they propose means testing and other changes that are highly progressive. This is a deal worth making.

Perhaps most important, American entitlement programs are actually not that progressive. The number of people eligible for Social Security and Medicare will double by 2030. Sustaining these programs in anything like their current form will mean cutting deeply or eliminating most other government programs. Why has the care and feeding of America's elderly become the only cause of American liberalism?

Obama has an obvious script in front of him. He could turn every item in Ryan's plan into an attack ad, scare the elderly and ride to victory in 2012. But that would probably mean we had pushed off reform of entitlement programs one more time, hoping that someone sometime in the future will lead this country.

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A close-up photograph of a man wearing a black balaclava and a camouflage jacket. He is looking directly at the camera with a serious expression. The background shows a building with a corrugated metal roof and some foliage.

WORLD

The Specter of Genocide. Why the U.N. picked a side in Ivory Coast's civil war

BY ALEX PERRY



The siege Ouattara's troops at a checkpoint outside Abidjan

Photograph by Rebecca Blackwell—AP

THE WOMAN HAD BEEN TRAPPED in her office for three days as fighting rocked the streets below and armed gangs roamed. Alexandra had survived on a package of cookies and two cans of soda. Finally, frantic that a promised rescue by a U.N. convoy did not materialize, she ran out of her building and into the dangerous streets, dashing two blocks to a nearby hotel. "This place is paradise," she said to the staff, who took her in and provided her with water and some food, even though they were running low. "This place is paradise."

On March 31, millions in the chic, sultry West African city of Abidjan, the center of power in Ivory Coast, abandoned their wine bars, high-rise offices and four-lane highways. They barricaded their apartments and watched, terrified, as the battle for their nation swept into town. Forces allied with northerner Alassane Ouattara, who was elected President on Nov. 28, fought troops loyal to southerner Laurent Gbagbo, the incumbent, who delayed an election for five years, then refused to go when he lost.

Mediation went nowhere, and from March 28 to 30, militias supporting Ouattara captured most of the country. But the battle for Abidjan, a city of 5 million, was always going to be bloody. Gbagbo had surrounded himself with thousands of troops and heavy weapons—mortars, mounted machine guns and artillery—and was believed to be in a bunker under the presidential residence. Its food supplies already low, the city ran so short of water that even Gbagbo's thugs were knocking on doors begging for a drink. Thirsty civilians braved gunfire to draw water from the city's polluted lagoons.

Meanwhile, the specter of genocide hung in the air as Gbagbo's state television urged patriots to defend the nation, broadcasting pictures of bodies in the streets. Northerners and southerners daubed one another's doors with signs to indicate tribal affiliation, a guide to enmity. In the western town of Duekoué, 800 people died in two separate massacres, apparently one by each side. The U.N. estimated that a million people were displaced.

Gbagbo seemed to be counting on the world's doing little to stop what sounded like an all-too-familiar African tragedy. As with other autocrats—Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe, Muammar Gaddafi in Libya—the country would burn. The world would watch in horror but just as quickly turn away. And after all the killing, rape and destruction, Gbagbo would remain.

Almost no one, certainly not Gbagbo, foresaw an attack by U.N. peacekeepers. But on April 4, a squadron of white helicopters—two Mi-24s belonging to the U.N. and up to five French helicopters under U.N. command—swept low over the city through the evening rain and rocketed five of Gbagbo's six military installations in Abidjan. An arms dump was hit, and fiery rocket-propelled grenades spun out crazily across the city. Within hours, Gbagbo's troops were ditching their uniforms and deserting while his generals negotiated his surrender. "Again and again, we appealed to him to respect civilian populations," says Edward Luck, a special adviser to U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon. "But the situation was on the verge

A call to arms is not what you expect from the U.N.—and certainly not a military operation to overthrow a national leader

of being out of control. So the [U.N.] Security Council upped the ante and said [U.N. peacekeepers] should take all necessary means to protect the population."

A call to arms is not what you expect from the U.N.—and certainly not a military operation to overthrow a national leader. Luck says that in neither Ivory Coast nor Libya "did the Security Council set out for regime change." But in Abidjan, it ended up doing exactly that. On March 30, the Security Council issued a resolution urging Gbagbo to "immediately step aside" and authorizing the U.N. force to do whatever was needed to protect civilians.

The operation that followed and its counterpart in Libya mark yet another step in the evolution of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) doctrine—Luck's area of responsibility. The idea of R2P is simple enough: human rights are universal, every state should protect them, and if a particular state fails to do so, others should. But complications have arisen with putting R2P into practice.

The concept was first invoked in a 1967 campaign to persuade the West to intervene in Nigeria to end a civil war against Biafran secessionists, a conflict that resulted in the starvation of a million

people. Initially, the idea was to provide emergency aid wherever it was needed. But in the 1980s and 1990s, a group of mostly French, mostly ex-socialist internationalists proposed humanitarian intervention—not just alleviating suffering but also extinguishing its causes with action across borders, military if needed. Shame and outrage at inaction during the 1992 massacre in Srebrenica and the 1994 Rwandan genocide led to NATO airstrikes against Serbian forces attacking Kosovo Albanians in 1999 and British armed intervention against the rebel Revolutionary United Front in Sierra Leone in 2000. In 1999, British Prime Minister Tony Blair hailed Kosovo as "a just war, based not on any territorial ambitions but on values."

Not everyone agreed with subordinating national sovereignty to the Western urge to "do something," however, and many equated it with imperialism. Hence Kosovo was a NATO operation, not a U.N. one. When Blair invoked R2P as justification for invading Iraq, R2P's credibility suffered along with his. Still, in 2005, the U.N. General Assembly reached consensus on the responsibility to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity.

In that sense, Ivory Coast and Libya are R2P in a more acceptable form. In both cases, action was instigated not by the West but by a more appropriate region. It was the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) that on March 24 first called on the U.N. to "use all means necessary to protect life and property" in Ivory Coast, and it was the Arab League that asked for a no-fly zone over Libya on March 12. "Who would have thought either of those would have done that five years ago?" asks Alex Vines, head of the Africa program at the think tank Chatham House in London.

But even if humanity is indivisible, support for R2P will never be—because intervention is never neutral. Despite ECOWAS's demand that he go and France's insistence that it is fighting for the U.N., Gbagbo has not viewed his bombing as impartial. "France [has] entered directly into war against us," he told French television April 4. Two days later, 3,000 militiamen surrounded Gbagbo's residence, vowing to die fighting. "It is absolute mayhem here," said a nearby resident. "There are youths driving around in 4-by-4s, shooting in the air. We can hear gunfire. And the smell of corpses is getting worse."

—WITH REPORTING BY MONICA MARK/ABIDJAN, ISHAAN THAROOR/NEW YORK AND BRUCE CRUMLEY/PARIS ■

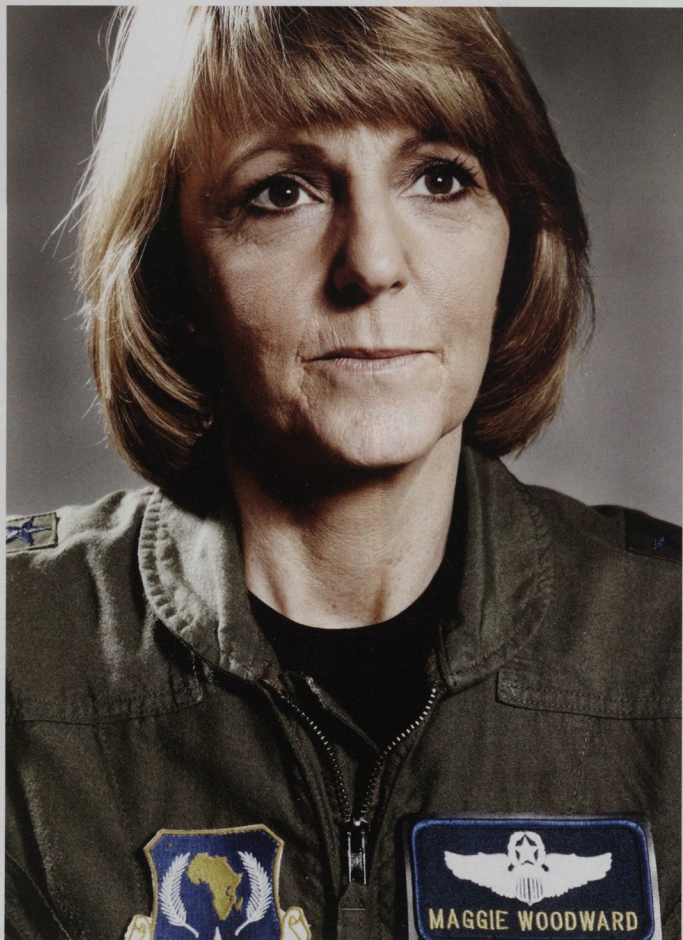


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NATION

Air Boss

From her base in Germany, Major General Maggie Woodward ruled the skies over Libya. It was another first for women in combat

BY MARK THOMPSON

DARTING AROUND A WINDOWLESS command center in southwestern Germany, Maggie Woodward flashed orders to pilots and skippers from the Great Plains to the Dolomites. She scrambled U.S. warplanes from Italy's Aviano air base and ordered them to attack targets deep inside Libya. She dispatched secret orders to Marine amphibious ships in the Mediterranean, instructing their chopper crews when and where to stage for pilot search and rescue. She ordered electronic-countermeasures aircraft to broadcast radio messages encouraging Muammar Gaddafi's troops to mutiny. She sent B-2 bombers from their base in Missouri to destroy Libyan aircraft on the ground near Misratah. A week later she dialed up a pair of B-1 bombers from South Dakota—which overcame a thick blanket of new snow, glare ice and freezing fog—to attack nearly 100 targets scattered across the North African desert. It was the first time the Reagan-era B-1s had ever struck overseas targets from their U.S. base.

Operation Odyssey Dawn also marked the first time in U.S. history that a woman commanded a military air campaign.

Fueled by Cokes and chocolate and backed by a staff of 400, Woodward raced Gaddafi's tanks to the rebel stronghold of Benghazi and, over the course of a frenzied 12 hours, halted their advance. "I remember being worried as we watched the Libyan regime forces bear down on Benghazi," she recalled in an April 4 conversation. "I remember all of us being terrified that we wouldn't be able to turn them back in time and that they would overrun the city, and we just couldn't even imagine the massacre that would ensue." Jubilation erupted, she added, as "we watched our F-15Es take out those tanks."

Woodward's account is a reminder that the recent U.S. operation in Libya was a much more complicated affair than just a no-fly zone. It was more like a don't-move zone. Woodward ordered more than 2,100 sorties and 200 cruise-missile strikes, pinpointing any Libyan radar, missiles or

command posts that could threaten allied planes, as well as military units threatening civilians. Very few of those attacks helped clear the skies; they cleared the streets of Gaddafi's goons. Within two weeks, 25% of Gaddafi's military had been reduced to rubble. "Our mandate included protecting the civilian population in Libya," she said, "so we did much more than just the no-fly zone."

But now that the U.S. has stepped back from day-to-day control and NATO has taken responsibility for patrolling Libyan airspace, a kind of stalemate has set in. Gaddafi's forces changed tactics and no longer travel in tank columns; they move around in civilian pickups. Even if allied air power wanted to take them out, distinguishing one side from the other has become much more difficult. Rebel officials said NATO air strikes killed 13 of their comrades over the April 2 weekend.

Meanwhile, Gaddafi still has roughly 20,000 trained troops, but the rebels can only muster perhaps 1,000 on a good day.

With Gaddafi and his supporters holed up in Tripoli and the rebels based in Benghazi, there's a good chance each side could end up controlling half the country indefinitely.

A Fast Burner

"WE'RE NOT GOING TO GET INTO the first-woman thing, are we?" Woodward says, with more than a hint of exasperation. When asked if she feels like a role model for girls, the 51-year-old aerospace engineer and mountain-bike enthusiast replies, "I hope I'm an inspiring figure to lots of little boys and girls."

And big ones as well. Woodward spent the first 10 years of her life in Pakistan and India, where her late father worked for the U.S. Agency for International Development. (Her mother's father flew Jenny biplanes in World War I.) "Since I was about 4 or 5 years old, all I wanted to do was to fly," Woodward says. She recalls being taken away when a guidance counselor told her the Air Force didn't let women fly. "Well, they're just going to have to change that," she recalls responding, "because I know that's what I'm going to do."

Her mother Mary Ann partly blames herself for pushing Maggie into the cockpit. When the family was living in Mumbai in 1970, Mary Ann left a note at the hotel of the three Air Force crew members flying Neil Armstrong and his Apollo 11 colleagues on their postmoonwalk world tour. It was an invitation to the Woodward home "for a cocktail"—liquor was banned commercially—"and they ended up staying for dinner," she says. Her daughter, 10 at the time, "soaked it all up." The crew invited Maggie's older brother to visit their plane the next morning, and Mary Ann—"not wanting to be a pushy mom"—didn't ask if her daughter could tag along. "She has never forgiven me for that," the combat commander's mother now says.

Woodward entered the service after



graduating from Arizona State University in 1982 and was soon piloting KC-135 tankers as they refueled fighters and bombers in midair during U.S. military action in Panama and the Balkans. She later ran tanker operations over Afghanistan and Iraq. Woodward racked up nearly 4,000 hours of flight time along the way and garnered a funky call sign: Swamp Witch. Today she is one of only 612 women—less than 5%—among the Air Force's 13,000 pilots. (Woodward is married to an Air Force one-star general, now retired; the couple has no children.)

In 2007 she became the first woman to run the 89th Airlift Wing—home to Air Force One and other VIP craft—at Andrews Air Force Base just outside the capital, where, other brass recall, she was popular and effective. "Successful general officers know how to take care of the troops and let the troops take care of the mission," says William Welser III, a retired lieutenant general who was once Woodward's commander. "Maggie certainly falls into that category."

Last summer, Woodward was promoted to run the 17th Air Force, part of the two-year-old U.S. Africa Command (Africom), which oversees U.S. military operations on the continent but for historical and logistical reasons is headquartered in Germany. Once President Obama ordered the no-fly zone, it fell to Woodward to make it happen. When the balloon went up, Woodward spent hours in the air-ops center at Ramstein air base, where more than 100 headset-wearing personnel, arrayed at a half-dozen rows of computer screens, monitored secret radio, video and instant messages. Woodward rarely sat at her command post on the war room's left side, instead roaming from desk to desk—from intelligence to operations to coalition partners—picking up new details and issuing instructions.

Not everything went perfectly. An 18-month-old baby was killed, apparently by an air strike on an ammo dump south of Tripoli that sent a tank round into his bedroom. Weather grounded most of Woodward's AC-130s and A-10 tank-killing

planes in the final days of the U.S. operation. She and her team held their breath when two F-15 flyers were forced to parachute into Libya after their plane malfunctioned. (The pilot was rescued quickly; his weapons officer was put up in a hotel by anti-Gaddafi forces until he could be picked up several hours later.) "That was a very emotional night and morning for all of us," she says. "The cheers that rose up from the floor in that air-operations center when we got the word that both crew members were safe were deafening."

Woodward dismisses grumbles from some Air Force veterans that a shooting air war should have been commanded by a fighter or bomber pilot. "That's one reason they call us general officers," she notes. "We're no longer the technical experts. We have to be able to listen to the experts and make good decisions."

Nothing Left to Shoot?

OF COURSE, IT'S MUCH EASIER TO SCRAMBLE the jets than it is to craft a policy that will make Gaddafi go away. The Administration points out that the allies agreed only to protect Libyan civilians. "We've tried regime change before," Defense Secretary Robert Gates said, "and sometimes it's worked, and sometimes it's taken 10 years." The White House is weighing sending more aid—initially nonlethal supplies like medicine and body armor—to help the rebels, who are complaining about a lack of allied air strikes since Woodward relinquished command. But there is concern in the Pentagon and elsewhere that any weapons pipeline to Benghazi would put the U.S. on the side of fighters it knows very little about. The most fervent U.S. hope, as Gates put it, "is that a member of his own family kills him or one of his inner circle kills him."

But there's not much sign of that possibility yet. Though some members of the Tripoli government have defected, there are widening rifts among rebel factions as well. Meanwhile, NATO warplanes circle overhead, but because Woodward's destruction of the Libyan air force was so complete, there is little left to do.

Woodward has returned to her normal job as Africom's air boss, managing relations with 53 countries and their militaries. She hopes to squeeze in some horseback-riding time before long but says she is not frustrated by the situation on the ground. "I was given a very clear objective," she says, "and I feel very good that we were able to accomplish those objectives."

For now, not everyone in the Libyan theater can make the same claim. ■

Defense Secretary Robert Gates pronounced Woodward's effort a success 'because so much of [Gaddafi's] military has been destroyed'

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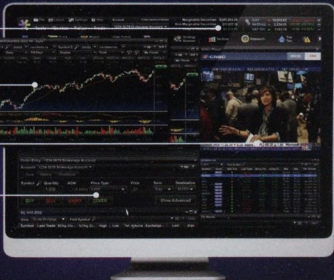
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THE CIVIL WAR 1861-2011

The Way We Weren't

North and South shared the burden of slavery, and after the war, they shared in forgetting about it. But 150 years later, it's time to tell the truth

BY DAVID VON DREHLE

A FEW WEEKS BEFORE CAPTAIN GEORGE S. JAMES SENT the first mortar round arcing through the predawn darkness toward Fort Sumter, South Carolina, on April 12, 1861, Abraham Lincoln cast his Inaugural Address as a last-ditch effort to win back the South. A single thorny issue divided the nation, he declared: "One section of our country believes slavery is right and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute."

It was not a controversial statement at the time. Indeed, Southern leaders were saying similar things during those fateful days. But 150 years later, Americans have lost that clarity about the cause of the Civil War, the most traumatic and transformational event in U.S. history, which left more than 625,000 dead—more Americans killed than in both world wars combined.

Shortly before the Fort Sumter anniversary, Harris Interactive polled more than 2,500 adults across the country, asking what the North and South were fighting about. A majority, including two-thirds of white respondents in the 11 states that formed the Confederacy, answered that the South was mainly motivated by "states' rights" rather than the future of slavery.

The question "What caused the Civil War?" returns 20 million Google hits and a wide array of arguments on Internet comment boards and discussion threads. The Civil War was caused by Northern aggressors invading an independent Southern nation. Or it was caused by high tariffs. Or it was caused by blundering statesmen. Or it was caused by the clash of industrial and agrarian cultures. Or it was caused by fanatics. Or it was caused by the Marxist class struggle.

On and on, seemingly endless, sometimes contradictory—although not among mainstream historians, who in the past generation have come to view the question much as Lincoln saw it. "Everything stemmed from the slavery issue," says Princeton professor James McPherson, whose book *Battle Cry of Freedom* is widely judged to be the authoritative one-volume history of the war. Another leading authority, David Blight of Yale, laments,

"No matter what we do or the overwhelming consensus among historians, out in the public mind, there is still this need to deny that slavery was the cause of the war."

It's not simply a matter of denial. For most of the first century after the war, historians, novelists and filmmakers worked like hypnotists to soothe the posttraumatic memories of survivors and their descendants. Forgetting was the price of reconciliation, and Americans—those whose families were never bought or sold, anyway—were happy to pay it.

But denial plays a part, especially in the South. After the war, former Confederates wondered how to hold on to their due pride after a devastating defeat. They had fought long and courageously; that was beyond question. So they reverse-engineered a cause worthy of those heroics. They also sensed, correctly, that the end of slavery would confer a gloss of nobility, and bragging rights, on the North that it did not deserve. As Lincoln suggested in his second Inaugural Address, the entire nation, North and South, profited from slavery and then paid dearly for it.

The process of forgetting, and obscuring, was long and layered. Some of it was benign, but not all. It began with self-justifying memoirs by defeated Confederate leaders and was picked up by war-weary veterans on both sides who wanted to move on. In the devastated South, writers and historians kindled comforting stories of noble cavaliers, brilliant generals

To create these images, photographer Gregg Segal worked with Civil War re-enactors at historic battle sites that have been overtaken by modern development

Chattanooga, Tenn.

PAST The Battle of Orchard Knob on Nov. 23, 1863, allowed General Ulysses Grant to capture Missionary Ridge the next day

PRESENT Steve Evans sits by the hill where much of the fighting took place. Just 5% of the Chattanooga battlefield remains protected



Photographs by Gregg Segal for TIME

Spotsylvania County, Va.

PAST Known as the Crossroads of the Civil War, this area of northern Virginia saw four major battles; General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson was killed here, and more than 100,000 troops

PRESENT Jeffro Moye, Kirkwood Hall and Robert Lee Hodge meet on Jefferson Davis Highway near Massaponax Cemetery

and happy slaves, all faithful to a glorious lost cause. In the prosperous North, where cities and factories began filling with freed slaves and their descendants, large audiences were happy to embrace this idea of a time when racial issues were both simple and distant.

History is not just about the past. It also reveals the present. And for generations of Americans after the Civil War, the present did not have room for that radical idea laid bare by the conflict: that all people really are created equal. That was a big bite to chew.

The once obvious truth of the Civil War does not imply that every soldier had slavery on his mind as he marched and fought. Many Southerners fought and died in gray never having owned a slave and never intending to own one. Thousands died in blue with no intention to set one free. But it was slavery that had broken one nation in two and fated its people to fight over whether it would be put back together again. The true story is not a tale of heroes on one side and villains on the other. Few true stories are. But it is a clear and straightforward story, and so is the tale of how that story became so complicated.

Bleeding Kansas

HISTORY TEXTBOOKS SAY THE CIVIL WAR BEGAN WITH THE shelling of Fort Sumter. The fact is, however, that the Founding Fathers saw the whole thing coming. They walked away from the Constitutional Convention fully aware that they had planted a time bomb; they hoped future leaders would find a way to defuse it before it exploded. As the Constitution was being written, James Madison observed, "It seems now to be pretty well understood that the real difference of interests lies not between the large and small but between the Northern and Southern states. The institution of slavery and its consequences form the line."

As long as the disagreement remained purely a matter of North and South, the danger seemed manageable. But then North and South looked to the west. All that land, all those resources—the idea that the frontier might be closed off to slavery was unacceptable to the South. It felt like an indictment and an injustice rolled into one. Slave owners were not immune to the expansionary passion of 19th century America. They too needed room to grow, and not just to plant more cotton. Slaves could grow hemp and mine gold and build railroads and sew clothes. The economic engine of slavery was immensely powerful. Slaves were the single largest financial asset in the United States of America, worth over \$3.5 bil-

lion in 1860 dollars—more than the value of America's railroads, banks, factories or ships. Cotton was by far the largest U.S. export. It enriched Wall Street banks and fueled New England textile mills. This economic giant demanded a piece of the Western action.

In 1854, the Kansas-Nebraska Act proposed to let territorial settlers decide the future of slavery. Never in U.S. history had so much depended on so few so far beyond the rule of law. There was a footrace to the distant prairie, and Kansas, where the racers clashed, was where the war started, not Fort Sumter. And everyone involved knew exactly what the killing was about.

It was on May 21, 1856, that a proslavery army, hauling artillery and commanded by U.S. Senator David Rice Atchison of Missouri, laid waste to the antislavery bastion of Lawrence, Kans. "Boys, this is the happiest day of my life," Atchison declared as his men prepared to teach "the damned abolitionists a Southern lesson that they will remember until the day they die."



The Evolving Memory of a War



1861

"One section of our country believes slavery is right and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute."

—PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN



1881

Confederate President Jefferson Davis' *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* promotes the Lost Cause interpretation, distancing the war's causes from slavery



1913

At the 50th anniversary of Gettysburg, President Woodrow Wilson avoids the subject of slavery, instead focusing on the war's veterans

1915

D.W. Griffith's silent film *The Birth of a Nation* enlivens the Lost Cause and glorifies the Klan





One of those abolitionists was John Brown, who tried to come to the aid of Lawrence but arrived too late. Three days later, as Brown pondered what to do next, a messenger arrived with news from far-off Washington: an antislavery leader, Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, had been clubbed nearly to death by South Carolina Congressman Preston Brooks while sitting at his desk in the Senate chamber after delivering a fiery speech titled "The Crime Against Kansas." Brown went "crazy—crazy" at the news, his son reported. That night he led a small group, including four of his sons, to a proslavery settlement on Pottawatomie Creek. Announcing themselves as "the Northern army," Brown's band roused five men, led them into the darkness and hacked them to death with swords.

Two contending armies, artillery fire and flames, bloodshed in the Senate and corpses strewn over dew-damp ground. People at the time knew exactly what to call it: civil war. Kansas Territorial Governor Wilson Shannon used the phrase himself

in a warning to President Franklin Pierce. "We are standing on a volcano," Shannon added.

The reason for the eruption was simple. As Brown explained, "In Kansas, the question is never raised of a man, Is he a Democrat? Is he a Republican? The questions there raised are, Is he a Free State man? or Is he a proslavery man?" This is why armies marched and shells burst and swords flashed.

The Fracture

FROM THERE, THE REMAINING STEPS TO FORT SUMTER SEEMED to follow inexorably. The Supreme Court, in its infamous *Dred Scott* decision, tried to answer the question in favor of slaveholders. The backlash was furious. In Kansas, settlers passed competing constitutions, one slave and one free, and the battle over which one Congress should accept splintered the Democratic Party. When Stephen A. Douglas failed to reunite the Democrats in 1860, he opened the door to a Lincoln victory.

Meanwhile, Brown organized a quixotic plot to invade the South and stir up an army of slaves. Quickly captured at the armory in Harpers Ferry, Va., tried for treason and hanged, he was hailed by abolitionists as a martyr. After that, the idea that Northern Republicans supported slave rebellion became the defining theme, for Southerners, of the 1860 election. A vote for Lincoln was in many minds a vote for the sort of blood-soaked insurrection that had freed the slaves of Haiti and left thousands of white slave owners dead.

Abolitionists had "inspired [slaves] with vague notions of freedom," explained President James Buchanan as he prepared to leave office. "Many a matron throughout the South retires at night in dread of what may befall herself and her children before morning," making "disunion ... inevitable." As Southern states began to declare their independence, they echoed this theme. South Carolina's leaders indicted the North for encouraging "thousands of our slaves to leave their homes, and those who have remained have been incited by emissaries, books and pictures to serve insurrection." Mississippi affirmed, "Our position is thoroughly identified with the institution of slavery—the greatest material interest of the world," adding, "There was no choice left us but submission to the mandates of abolition, or a dissolution of the Union." Georgians declared, "We refuse to submit."

Even as the conflict turned to all-out war, many people still hoped for a way to put things back as they had been. As George McClellan, General in Chief of the Union Army, wrote to a friend in 1861, "I am fighting to preserve the integrity of the Union & the power of the [government]—on no other issue. To gain that end, we cannot afford to raise up the negro question—it must be incidental and subsidiary." His words go to the root of a persistent question: How could slavery be the cause of the war when so many in blue had no interest in emancipation? McClellan was speaking for the millions whose goal was not to free the slaves but to preserve the Union.



1939
Gone with the Wind, the top-grossing film of all time, romanticizes the antebellum South and villainizes the postwar carpetbagger

1958
Shelby Foote, whom some have accused of **understanding slavery's role**, begins publishing a Civil War history



2010
Virginia Governor Bob McDonnell's 400-word statement about Confederate History Month includes **no mention of slavery**



2011
"Slavery was the primary, central cause of secession."
—GOVERNOR HALEY BARBOUR



Gettysburg, Pa.

PAST During the battle on July 1-3, 1863, Cemetery Hill was crowded with thousands of troops, wagons, mules, mounted officers and orderlies

PRESENT Robert Lee Hodge, Jerry Hornbaker and Tim Cole advance through the cemetery near a new Comfort Suites hotel

GREGG SEGAL FOR TIME





JOANNA Q.
VINCLING
SEPT. 3, 1857
FEB. 21, 1923

...LING
...CHILE LIGORE
...NOV. 4, 1942



Winchester, Va.

PAST This town, which housed the headquarters of Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson early in the war, was the site of three major battles involving 100,000 troops that resulted in 17,000 casualties

PRESENT Robert Lee Hodge, above right, rides a truck through town. Few of the battlefields throughout the hamlet have been preserved

What McClellan did not perceive, though, was that the Union and slavery had become irreconcilable. The proposition on which the revolutionaries of 1776 had staked their efforts—the fundamental equality of individuals—was diametrically opposed by the constitution of the new Confederacy. "Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea; its foundations are laid, its cornerstone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition," explained Confederate Vice President Alexander Stephens. In other words, the warring sides had stripped their arguments to first principles, and those principles could no longer be compromised.

Fogging Memory

THE FORGETTING BEGAN WITH EXHAUSTION. "FROM 1865"—THE year the war ended—"until the 1880s, there was a paucity of writings about the war that really sold," says Harvard historian John Stauffer. "Americans weren't ready to deal with the reality of the war because of the carnage and the devastation." When an appetite for the story began to return, readers embraced only certain

kinds of memories. There was no market for books of war photographs. Ulysses Grant's 1885 memoirs were a best seller, but the Union general gave almost no attention to the events leading up to Lincoln's call for troops, while his touching account of the Confederate surrender at Appomattox strongly conveyed the idea that it was best to move on. There was an avid audience for essays by military leaders in the magazine *The Century*, describing their battles in minute detail but paying scant attention to the big picture. This "Battles and Leaders" series spawned an endless literature that, some critics say, treats the terrible conflict as if it were America's original Super Bowl, Yankees vs. Reds, complete with watercooler analysis of the play calling, fumbles and Hail Marys.

The first publishing success to really engage the reasons for the war was a strange and rambling book by Confederate President Jefferson Davis. Twenty years earlier, Davis had framed the choice to secede in simple terms: "Will you consent to be robbed of your property"—meaning slaves—or will you "strike bravely for liberty, property, honor and life?" But looking back, he preferred to say that the slavery issue had been trumped up by "political demagogues" in the North "as a means to acquire power."



Spring Hill, Tenn.

PAST Confederates led by General John Bell Hood lost a rare chance to trap much of the Union Army on Nov. 29, 1864, after command mistakes allowed Union troops to head north in the night

PRESENT Re-enactors representing Confederates gather to restage the historic battle in the middle of a suburban housing development

Davis' book, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, became a polestar for the Lost Cause school of Civil War history, which takes its name from an 1866 book by Richmond newspaper editor Edward Pollard. Highly selective and deeply misleading, the story of the Lost Cause was immediately popular in the South because it translated the Confederacy's defeat into a moral victory. It pictured antebellum life as an idyll of genteel planters and their happy "servants" whose "instincts," in Davis' words, "rendered them contented with their lot... Never was there happier dependence of labor and capital on each other."

But then: "The tempter came, like the serpent of Eden, and decoyed them with the magic word of 'freedom.'" Though outgunned and outnumbered, the South fought heroically to defend itself from aggressors whose factories up north were the true slave drivers. And though God-fearing warriors like Robert E. Lee and Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson outgeneraled their foes at every turn, ultimately the federal swarm was too large and too savage to repel.

The Lost Cause story required a massive case of amnesia. Before the war, Southerners would have scoffed at the idea that the

North was overwhelmingly stronger. They believed that King Cotton was the dominant force on earth and that powerful Britain—where roughly 1 in 5 people depended on cotton for a living—would intervene to ensure Confederate victory.

But people were eager to forget. And so Americans both Southern and Northern flocked to minstrel shows and snapped up happy-slave stories by writers like Thomas Nelson Page and Joel Chandler Harris. White society was not ready to deal with the humanity and needs of freed slaves, and these entertainments assured them that there was no need to. Reconstruction was scorned as a fool's errand, and Jim Crow laws were touted as sensible reforms to restore a harmonious land.

A Quarrel Forgotten

INSTEAD OF LOOKING BACK, POSTWAR PRESIDENTS STRESSED THE future, adopting the reconciling tone of Grant at Appomattox. William McKinley, assassinated in 1901, was the last Civil War veteran to lead the country. His successor, Theodore Roosevelt, was the living embodiment of reconciliation and moving forward. His father had served the Union cause; his plantation-raised mother

had supported the South; his childhood was a master tutorial in leaving certain things unsaid in the pursuit of harmony.

By the 50th anniversary of Gettysburg, it was nearly impossible to know from the commemoration why the war had happened or who had won. The year was 1913, and the President was Woodrow Wilson, the first Southerner to hold the office since 1850. Wilson had been a historian before entering politics, and his book *A History of the American People* was tinged with Lost Cause interpretations. He described the Ku Klux Klan as “an empire of the South” created by men “roused by a mere instinct of self-preservation.” It was no surprise, then, that his remarks at Gettysburg completely avoided slavery. Instead he chose to talk about “gallant men in blue and gray... our battles long past, our quarrels forgotten.”

So what was remembered? Two years after Wilson spoke at Gettysburg, partly influenced by Wilson's book, filmmaker D.W. Griffith debuted *The Birth of a Nation*. It was the first film in history with a six-figure production budget, yet by selling out theaters at the unheard-of price of \$2 per ticket—nearly \$44 in current dollars—Griffith made a fortune. The movie brought the Lost Cause to cinematic life, with the Klan saving the day in the final reel, rescuing white families from a group of marauding blacks. Then in 1939, a new Lost Cause melodrama made an even bigger impact: David O. Selznick's *Gone with the Wind*. The story of plucky Scarlett O'Hara and the sad destruction of her “pretty world” of “Cavaliers and Cotton Fields called the Old South” is the top-grossing film of all time, adjusted for inflation, according to the website Box Office Mojo.

Both films begin in an antebellum South where all is peaceful and bright and trace the sad fall from paradise into a hellish postwar world of carpetbagging Northerners and rapacious, incompetent freed slaves. Such powerful cultural images were buttressed by the academic work of leading historians. At Columbia University, William A. Dunning established himself as the leading authority on the postwar South, and he brought up a generation of scholars with the belief that blacks were incapable of equality and that Reconstruction was a disastrous injustice.

Equally influential was University of Illinois historian James G. Randall, who towered among Lincoln scholars. Horrified by the senseless carnage of World War I, Randall saw it foreshadowed in the trenches and torched fields of the Civil War. The chief villains, in Randall's orthodoxy, were Northern abolitionists with their “reforming zeal.”

Reigning over the study of slavery was Yale's U.B. Phillips, the son of slave owners. For decades he was the only scholar to undertake a systematic examination of the plantation economy, which, he argued, was a benign and civilizing force for African captives. He concluded that slavery was an unprofitable system that would have soon died out peacefully. That would have surprised the Southerners who in the 1850s certainly believed there was money to be made in slavery. In the decade before the war, per capita wealth grew more than twice as fast in the South as it did in the North, and the prices of slaves and land both rose by some 70%. If slavery was dying out, it sure was hard to tell.

Why It Matters

HISTORIANS BEGAN TO BREAK THE GRIP OF FORGETFULNESS after World War II, as the civil rights movement restarted the march toward equality. In 1941, Franklin Roosevelt ordered equal treatment for “workers in defense industries or

government.” The next President, Harry Truman, desegregated the armed forces. The next one, Dwight Eisenhower, dispatched federal troops to enforce school desegregation in Arkansas. And so on, step by little step.

In 1947, the year Jackie Robinson broke baseball's color line, John Hope Franklin, a black historian then at Howard University, published *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans*. This runaway best seller revolutionized academic discussion of the black experience. The same year, Columbia's Allan Nevins published the first of eight volumes of *Ordeal of the Union*, which explored America's road to disaster in great depth and clarity.

The Dunning School lost its grip on Reconstruction when C. Vann Woodward of Johns Hopkins published *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* in 1955. The following year, Kenneth Stampp at Berkeley did the same to U.B. Phillips with *The Peculiar Institution*, which examined the slave system through the eyes of the slaves themselves for the first time.

With the centennial of the war approaching, a flood of outstanding Civil War history books hit shelves, and the half-century since then has been rich in scholarship. Robust controversies rage and always will, but the distortion and occluded memory that shaped the Lost Cause story is found now only on the academic fringe. What energy exists in the modern version comes from a clique of libertarians who view the Union cause as a fearsome example of authoritarian central government crushing individual dissent. Slave owners make odd libertarian heroes, but by keeping the focus narrowly on Big Government, this school uses the secession cause to dramatize issues of today. Outside academia, denial remains

an irresistible temptation for some politicians. Virginia Governor Bob McDonnell last year issued a 400-word Confederate History Month proclamation without a single mention of slavery. “There were any number of aspects to that conflict between the states,” McDonnell later explained. “Obviously it involved slavery, it involved other issues, but I focused on the ones that I thought were most significant for Virginia.” (Barraged by criticism, he corrected the omission.)

And in popular culture, as University of Virginia historian Gary Gallagher writes, “The Lost Cause's Confederacy of gallant leaders and storied victories in defense of home ground retains enormous vitality.” It shows up in movies like *Gods and Generals*, in commemorative paintings, decorative plates and battlefield re-enactments. By contrast, Gallagher searches in vain for a scene in any recent film that “captures the abiding devotion to Union that animated soldiers and civilians in the North.”

Why does this matter? Because the Civil War gave us, to an unmatched degree, the nation we became—including all the good stuff. Had secession succeeded, it's unlikely that there could have been a stable, tranquil coexistence between an independent North and South. Slaves would have continued running away. The riches of the West would have been just as enticing. There never would have been the sort of roisterous hodgepodge of wide-open energy that America became. One of the blessings of being able to set up shop on a new continent was that Americans never had to be defined by clan or tribe or region. We're the people who order a Coke from Atlanta and some New England clam chowder at a diner in Las Vegas. The place where a boy from Mississippi goes to California to make a movie called

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IMPORTANT INFORMATION ABOUT SYMBICORT

Important Safety Information about SYMBICORT 160/4.5 for COPD

Call your health care provider if you notice any of the following symptoms: change in amount or color of sputum, fever, chills, increased cough, or increased breathing problems. People with COPD may have a higher chance of pneumonia. SYMBICORT does not replace rescue inhalers for sudden symptoms.

Be sure to tell your health care provider about all your health conditions, including heart conditions or high blood pressure, and all medicines you may be taking. Some patients taking SYMBICORT may experience increased blood pressure, heart rate, or change in heart rhythm.

Do not use SYMBICORT more often than prescribed. While taking SYMBICORT, never use another medicine containing a LABA for any reason. Ask your health care provider or pharmacist if any of your other medicines are LABA medicines, as using too much LABA may cause chest pain, increase in blood pressure, fast and irregular heartbeat, headache, tremor, and nervousness.

Patients taking SYMBICORT should call their health care provider or get emergency medical care:

- if you experience serious allergic reactions including rash, hives, swelling of the face, mouth and tongue, and breathing problems.
- if you think you are exposed to infections such as chicken pox or measles, or if you have any signs of infection. You may have a higher chance of infection.

- if you experience an increase in wheezing right after taking SYMBICORT, eye problems including glaucoma and cataracts, decreases in bone mineral density, swelling of blood vessels (signs include a feeling of pins and needles or numbness of arms or legs, flu like symptoms, rash, pain and swelling of the sinuses), decrease in blood potassium, and increase in blood sugar levels.

If you are switching to SYMBICORT from an oral corticosteroid, follow your health care provider's instructions to avoid serious health risks when you stop using oral corticosteroids.

Common side effects include inflammation of the nasal passages and throat, thrush in the mouth and throat, bronchitis, sinusitis, and upper respiratory tract infection.

Approved Uses for COPD

SYMBICORT 160/4.5 is for adults with COPD, including chronic bronchitis and emphysema. You should only take 2 inhalations of SYMBICORT twice a day. Higher doses will not provide additional benefits.

Please see Important Product Information on adjacent page and discuss with your doctor.

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IMPORTANT INFORMATION ABOUT SYMBICORT

Please read this summary carefully and then ask your doctor about SYMBICORT.

No advertisement can provide all the information needed to determine if a drug is right for you or take the place of careful discussions with your health care provider. Only your health care provider has the training to weigh the risks and benefits of a prescription drug.

WHAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT INFORMATION I SHOULD KNOW ABOUT SYMBICORT?

People with asthma who take long-acting beta₂-agonist (LABA) medicines, such as formoterol (one of the medicines in SYMBICORT), have an increased risk of death from asthma problems. It is not known whether budesonide, the other medicine in SYMBICORT, reduces the risk of death from asthma problems seen with formoterol.

SYMBICORT should be used only if your health care provider decides that your asthma is not well controlled with a long-term asthma control medicine, such as an inhaled corticosteroid, or that your asthma is severe enough to begin treatment with SYMBICORT. Talk with your health care provider about this risk and the benefits of treating your asthma with SYMBICORT.

If you are taking SYMBICORT, see your health care provider if your asthma does not improve or gets worse. It is important that your health care provider assess your asthma control on a regular basis. Your doctor will decide if it is possible for you to stop taking SYMBICORT and start taking a long-term asthma control medicine without loss of asthma control.

Get emergency medical care if:

- breathing problems worsen quickly, and
- you use your rescue inhaler medicine, but it does not relieve your breathing problems.

Children and adolescents who take LABA medicines may be at increased risk of being hospitalized for asthma problems.

WHAT IS SYMBICORT?

SYMBICORT is an inhaled prescription medicine used for asthma and chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD). It contains two medicines:

- Budesonide (the same medicine found in Pulmicort Flexhaler™, an inhaled corticosteroid). Inhaled corticosteroids help to decrease inflammation in the lungs. Inflammation in the lungs can lead to asthma symptoms
- Formoterol (the same medicine found in Foradil® Aerolizer®). LABA medicines are used in patients with COPD and asthma to help the muscles in the airways of your lungs stay relaxed to prevent asthma symptoms, such as wheezing and shortness of breath. These symptoms can happen when the muscles in the airways tighten. This makes it hard to breathe, which, in severe cases, can cause breathing to stop completely if not treated right away

SYMBICORT is used for asthma and chronic obstructive pulmonary disease as follows:

Asthma

SYMBICORT is used to control symptoms of asthma and prevent symptoms such as wheezing in adults and children ages 12 and older.

Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease

SYMBICORT is a chronic lung disease that includes chronic bronchitis, emphysema, or both. SYMBICORT 160/4.5 mcg is used long term, two times each day, to help improve lung function for better breathing in adults with COPD.

WHO SHOULD NOT USE SYMBICORT?

Do not use SYMBICORT to treat sudden severe symptoms of asthma or COPD or if you are allergic to any of the ingredients in SYMBICORT.

WHAT SHOULD I TELL MY HEALTH CARE PROVIDER BEFORE USING SYMBICORT?

Tell your health care provider about all of your health conditions, including if you:

- have heart problems
- have high blood pressure
- have seizures
- have thyroid problems
- have diabetes
- have liver problems
- have osteoporosis
- have an immune system problem
- have eye problems such as increased pressure in the eye, glaucoma, or cataracts
- are allergic to any medicines
- are exposed to chicken pox or measles
- are pregnant or planning to become pregnant. It is not known if SYMBICORT may harm your unborn baby
- are breast-feeding. Budesonide, one of the active ingredients in SYMBICORT, passes into breast milk. You and your health care provider should decide if you will take SYMBICORT while breast-feeding

Tell your health care provider about all the medicines you take including prescription and nonprescription medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements. SYMBICORT and certain other medicines may interact with each other and can cause serious side effects. Know all the medicines you take. Keep a list and show it to your health care provider and pharmacist each time you get a new medicine.

HOW DO I USE SYMBICORT?

Do not use SYMBICORT unless your health care provider has taught you and you understand everything. Ask your health care provider or pharmacist if you have any questions.

Use SYMBICORT exactly as prescribed. Do not use SYMBICORT more often than prescribed. SYMBICORT comes in two strengths for asthma: 80/4.5 mcg and 160/4.5 mcg. Your health care provider will prescribe the strength that is best for you. SYMBICORT 160/4.5 mcg is the approved dosage for COPD.

- SYMBICORT should be taken every day as 2 puffs in the morning and 2 puffs in the evening.
- Rinse your mouth with water and spit the water out after each dose (2 puffs) of SYMBICORT. This will help lessen the chance of getting a fungus infection (thrush) in the mouth and throat.
- Do not spray SYMBICORT in your eyes. If you accidentally get SYMBICORT in your eyes, rinse your eyes with water. If redness or irritation persists, call your health care provider.
- Do not change or stop any medicines used to control or treat your breathing problems. Your health care provider will change your medicines as needed.
- While you are using SYMBICORT 2 times each day, do not use other medicines that contain a long-acting beta₂-agonist (LABA) for any reason. Ask your health care provider or pharmacist if any of your other medicines are LABA medicines.
- SYMBICORT does not relieve sudden symptoms. Always have a rescue inhaler medicine with you to sudden symptoms. If you do not have a rescue inhaler, call your health care provider to have one prescribed for you.

Call your health care provider or get medical care right away if:

- your breathing problems worsen with SYMBICORT
- you need to use your rescue inhaler medicine more often than usual
- your rescue inhaler does not work as well for you as relieving symptoms
- you need to use 4 or more inhalations of your rescue inhaler medicine for 2 or more days in a row
- you use one whole canister of your rescue inhaler medicine in 8 weeks' time
- your peak flow meter results decrease. Your health care provider will tell you the numbers that are right for you
- your symptoms do not improve after using SYMBICORT regularly for 1 week

WHAT MEDICATIONS SHOULD I NOT TAKE WHEN USING SYMBICORT?

While you are using SYMBICORT, do not use other medicines that contain a long-acting beta₂-agonist (LABA) for any reason, such as:

- Serenex® Diskus® (salmeterol xinafoate inhalation powder)
- Advair Diskus® or Advair® HFA (fluticasone propionate and salmeterol)
- Formoterol-containing products such as Foradil Aerolizer, Bivona®, or Perforomax®

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE SIDE EFFECTS WITH SYMBICORT?

SYMBICORT can cause serious side effects.

- Increased risk of pneumonia and other lower respiratory tract infections if you have COPD. Call your health care provider if you notice any of these symptoms: increase in mucus production, change in mucus color, fever, chills, increased cough, increased breathing problems
- Serious allergic reactions including rash, hives, swelling of the face, mouth and tongue, and breathing problems. Call your health care provider or get emergency care if you get any of these symptoms
- Immune system effects and a higher chance for infections
- Adrenal insufficiency—a condition in which the adrenal glands do not make enough steroid hormones
- Cardiovascular and central nervous system effects of LABAs, such as chest pain, increased blood pressure, fast or irregular heartbeat, tremor, or nervousness
- Increased wheezing right after taking SYMBICORT
- Eye problems, including glaucoma and cataracts. You should have regular eye exams while using SYMBICORT
- Osteoporosis. People at risk for increased bone loss may have a greater risk with SYMBICORT
- Slowed growth in children. As a result, growth should be carefully monitored
- Swelling of your blood vessels. This can happen in people with asthma
- Decreases in blood potassium levels and increases in blood sugar levels

WHAT ARE COMMON SIDE EFFECTS OF SYMBICORT?

Patients with Asthma

Sore throat, headache, upper respiratory tract infection, thrush in the mouth and throat

Patients with COPD

Thrush in the mouth and throat
These are not all the side effects with SYMBICORT. Ask your health care provider or pharmacist for more information.

NOTE: This summary provides important information about SYMBICORT. For more information, please ask your doctor or health care provider.

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Kernstown, Va.

PAST Rebel troops regrouped at the Kernstown battlefield in July 1864 after attempting to capture Washington two weeks earlier

PRESENT Todd Kern rides his horse on the site where Union soldiers Rutherford B. Hayes and William McKinley once fought

Blue Hawaii. Secession was about making more borders. At its best, Americanism is about tearing them down.

To be blind to the reason the war happened is to build a sort of border of the mind, walling off an important truth. Slavery was not incidental to America's origins; it was central. There were slaves at Jamestown. In the 1600s, writes Yale's David Brion Davis, a towering figure among historians, slave labor was far more central to the making of New York than to the making of Virginia. As late as 1830, there were 2,254 slaves in New Jersey. Connecticut did not abolish slavery until 1848, a scant eight years before the fighting broke out in Kansas. Rhode Island dominated the American slave trade until it was outlawed in 1808. The cotton trade made Wall Street a global financial force. Slaves built the White House.

Furthermore, if slavery had spread to the West, the country would have found itself increasingly isolated in the world. Russia emancipated its serfs in 1861. The once sprawling slave system that had stretched from Canada to South America was by 1808 still vital only in Brazil, Cuba and the U.S. The first nation founded on the principle of liberty came dangerously close to being among the last slave economies on earth.

Two fallacies prop up the wall of forgetfulness. The first is that slavery somehow wasn't really that important—that it was a historical relic, unprofitable, dying out, or that all societies did it, or that the slaves were happy. But slavery was important, and not just to the 4 million men, women and children enslaved—a

number equal to the population of Los Angeles today. And the fact that it ended is important too.

The second fallacy is that this was only the South's problem and that the North solved it. Not long ago, the New York Historical Society mounted its largest-ever exhibition, titled "Slavery in New York." You can still visit the website and listen to public reactions. Over and over again, visitors repeat the same theme: as a teacher, as a college graduate, as a native New Yorker, "I knew absolutely nothing about this." As long as that belief persists, spoken or unspoken, Americans whose hearts lie with Dixie will understandably continue to defend their homes and honor against such Yankee arrogance.

Lincoln's words a few weeks before his death were often quoted after the war by those who wanted not just to forgive but also to forget: "With malice toward none, with charity for all." But those words drew their deepest power from the ones he spoke just before them: "Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's 250 years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said 3,000 years ago, so still it must be said 'the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'"

In other words, the path to healing and mercy goes by way of honesty and humility. After 150 years, it's time to finish the journey. ■

Green Power Play



Thanks to the federal ENERGY STAR program, homeowners and businesses can cut costs, reduce energy usage and protect the environment.

MOTHER NATURE IS all over the news these days. The earthquake and tsunami in Japan are clearly the most dramatic examples, but this year we've also seen more than our share of tornadoes, freezing temperatures and record-breaking snowfalls. One day this January, snow fell in 49 of the 50 states.

At the same time, seven of the eight warmest years on record have occurred since 2001. Is there a connection between all this? Could be. Hot air holds more moisture than cold air, and scientists say moisture is the element responsible for the volume and force of most big storms.

Whatever the case, the huge swings in weather are translating into soaring energy use and a big jump in costs for homeowners and business operators.

"We used a lot of energy this winter to keep warm, and we'll probably use a lot this summer to keep cool," says Maria Vargas, brand manager for the Environmental Protection Agency's (EPA) ENERGY STAR program, which has devised a labeling program that highlights energy efficiency where it's needed most: in homes and buildings.

Indeed, although auto emissions are often singled out as the biggest piece of the climate-change scenario, the real culprit may be elsewhere. According to

EPA, the average U.S. house is responsible for twice the amount of greenhouse gases as the average car. "Our homes are our castles," Vargas says, "but a lot of people





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By choosing ENERGY STAR products and solutions, the typical U.S. household can save up to 30% on energy bills. That works out to about \$700 a year.

do not realize that there are ways to make their castles better, warmer and more energy-efficient." Households that use ENERGY STAR qualified products typically save about 30% on their utility bills, she says. That translates into roughly \$700 a year. It also, of course, reduces greenhouse gas emissions.

More and more companies are becoming aware of climate change and the need to become energy-efficient. Again, cost is a big reason. According to EPA, the price tag on energy consumption in offices, factories, schools, supermarkets and other commercial and public buildings adds up to more than \$200 billion a year. "There is a lot of volatility in energy markets," says Vargas. "Efficiency offers companies a great safeguard. If the price of energy goes up, it enables them to strip out waste and become as efficient as possible."

To help make this happen, EPA offers building owners and managers technical assistance and access to free tools and resources to evaluate their energy performance and reduce energy use and

greenhouse gas emissions. DIRECTV, the satellite TV service, recently won its second ENERGY STAR excellence award for energy-efficient product design. It is one of some 100 organizations receiving an award from EPA this year (out of 20,000 ENERGY STAR partners).

To cut energy consumption and costs, DIRECTV swaps Styrofoam for paperboard when it ships its set-top boxes, reducing packaging volume and energy by 75%. It has also redesigned its link-up antennas to de-ice in frigid weather, rather than use additional energy to do the job.

"Efficiency is crucial for us," says Romulo Pontual, chief technology officer at the Los Angeles-based DIRECTV. "Customers want us to be energy-efficient and responsible, but at no cost to them. And energy awareness on the part of consumers is only going to grow."

ITW Food Equipment Group, which won an ENERGY STAR "Sustained Excellence" award this year for strategically and comprehensively addressing energy consumption issues, gathers ongoing

feedback from customers to generate ideas for improving both the climate and business environments. It is one of 46 organizations that was honored for sustained excellence this year.

ITW also created the Hobart Center for Foodservice Sustainability, which solicits and shares customers' best practices. "One of the most important ways we're working to reduce our carbon footprint is by helping customers reduce theirs," says Chris O'Herlihy, ITW executive vice president. "We know that the world's resources are not limitless. Companies that expect to have a future know this, and they are adjusting accordingly." ☉

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Recipe for Food Safety

Thanks to new legislation, the U.S. is spending \$1.4 billion to inspect a growing number of foreign food sources. But will that be enough?

BY STEVEN GRAY

ON SEPT. 16, 2010, A TEAM OF U.S. Food and Drug Administration investigators arrived at a Shanghai purveyor of dough, macaroni and baby cereal. Federal authorities had long suspected that Shanghai Chuangji Food Co.'s plants were unsanitary. Many of its products, like soup base, had been shipped to the port of New York and ultimately placed in an unknown number of goods that ended up on kitchen tables in the U.S. That's why federal authorities assigned to one of the FDA's new Chinese offices warned that country's government of their plans to pounce. FDA inspectors and a Chinese translator went to several Shanghai addresses listed for the company. Each time, representatives who answered the door refused to make executives available or allow inspectors inside. They even said the company didn't ship to the U.S.—which, of course, was a lie. Within a month, the FDA issued an import alert, banning Shanghai Chuangji's products from the U.S.

If you find that story reassuring, don't. The U.S. receives scores of tips about unsafe imported food each year, but the FDA inspects only about 1% of the roughly

Danger

In 2008, 1,500 people in 43 states became ill with salmonella poisoning

Danger

More than 300 people were hospitalized, and two died

Danger

At first, tomatoes were suspected, but eventually the contamination was traced to jalapeño and serrano peppers grown in Mexico

Danger

In the U.S., 48 million people get food-borne illnesses annually; 3,000 die



10 million products shipped into the country annually. Blame it partly on a lack of funding and, until recently, authority.

In January, however, things changed. President Obama signed the Food Safety Modernization Act, potentially the most sweeping overhaul of the nation's food-safety system in nearly three-quarters of a century. The law directs the FDA, regulator of about 80% of food consumed in the U.S., to prevent outbreaks of food-borne illnesses like salmonella. That's no small matter: nearly 1 in 6 Americans—48 million people—contracts a food-borne illness each year; 3,000 die as a result. Much of the new law will deal with domestically grown food, which accounts for about 85% of what Americans eat. But one of the most intriguing effects of the law will be the launch of a massive effort to inspect the increasing amount of imported goods: in the coming years, the FDA is expected to spend nearly \$1.4 billion to hire hundreds of staffers and private contractors to inspect the expanding number of foreign food suppliers.

The question is, Can the FDA police the world? It was only a century ago that Upton Sinclair wrote *The Jungle*, a groundbreaking book that described, in horrific detail, how spoiled meat was doused with soda to remove the scent of rot before it was hauled off to free-lunch counters. The book led to the enactment of the Pure Food and Drug Act and the formation of the FDA.

Today, of course, the FDA is a massive agency: it regulates more than \$466 billion worth of food and about 25¢ of every consumer dollar spent. Yet its imported-food mandate will be difficult to execute, mainly because globalization has sharply broadened the American palate. At ordinary supermarkets in Chicago, Charlotte, N.C., or Boise, Idaho, ingredients like chipotle sauce, couscous and coconut milk are no longer marginalized to the imported-food aisle—if such a section exists. About 60% of the U.S.'s fresh fruits and vegetables are imported, as is about 80% of seafood, much of it from countries with questionable food-safety regulations. "Globalization has presented its own food-safety challenges, which must be addressed," the FDA's deputy commissioner for foods, Michael Taylor, told a Shanghai audience recently.

The truth is, the FDA has struggled to keep up with the globalized food business. The evidence regularly appears on the evening television news: In 2008, the FDA warned that melamine, a compound frequently used to make plastics, had

Policing Food in a Global Market

Food imports are growing fast. The Food Safety Modernization Act increases the power of U.S. authorities to inspect them

Number of FDA foreign-food-inspection facilities



1%

Percentage of imported food that the FDA examines

60%

Percentage of fresh fruits and vegetables that are imported

Global offices of the FDA

Mexico City;
San José, Costa Rica;
Santiago, Chile;
Brussels;
London;
Mumbai;
New Delhi;
Beijing;
Shanghai;
Guangzhou, China



Sources: FDA; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention; Center for Science in the Public Interest

been found in Chinese infant formula, leading the agency to ban such products. In another case that year, clusters of illnesses in the U.S. prompted the FDA to investigate how jalapeño and serrano peppers imported from Mexico had become infected with salmonella. Ultimately, the agency warned consumers to avoid the peppers. Partly in response to such cases, the FDA has opened offices in far-flung cities like Guangzhou, Mumbai and Mexico City and has even dispatched a team of seafood experts to train Bangladeshi officials about U.S. food-safety standards.

The new law will take those efforts to a higher level. For starters, the FDA will hire hundreds of staffers to inspect thousands of overseas food facilities in the coming years. In Shanghai recently, Taylor said, "It is clear that the FDA can't be everywhere all the time, especially when it comes to the oversight of imported foods." So the agency will hire third-party certifiers. The handful of firms that inspect and certify food are preparing for an uptick in business. One of those firms is Bureau Veritas, a French concern. The company is already familiar with the U.S. regulatory process. Its office across from Walmart's Bentonville, Ark., headquarters advises the retail giant on how its products can meet U.S. safety standards. The company has conducted certification tests with the FDA on Vietnamese shrimp. Patrick Bele, Veritas' food-business-development manager, says of the new safety law: "It's going to be an opportunity to hire more people,

invest in more labs. It will give us an extra push in growth."

Two potential barriers to the law's implementation are politics and money. Congressional Republicans have suggested that the FDA's budget be trimmed by \$220 million. "Certainly, food safety is a high priority," says Congressman Jack Kingston, Republican of Georgia, who argues that the relative rarity of food-borne illness means the current system is effective. "But money is scarce," he says.

It may seem easy to dismiss such rhetoric since the Senate, which remains dominated by Democrats, is unlikely to erode a signature legislative victory backed by the Obama Administration and Big Food. But the law's advocates fear that the drive to cut the FDA's budget could gain traction in the next two to four years if Republicans take control of both chambers of Congress. "It's good to say the food supply is safe, but it has to turn out that way," warns Caroline Smith DeWaal, food-safety director at the Center for Science in the Public Interest, a Washington advocacy group. She adds, "There are risks to their own constituents if they're exposed to contaminated foods... The Republicans will be left holding the bag."

Meanwhile, back in China, Shanghai Chuangji hasn't taken key steps toward redemption, like testing questionable plants. FDA inspectors have yet to return to the company's facilities either. Without adequate funding, it's worth wondering if they ever will.

Major cases of foreign-food contamination

1997 Mexican strawberries, with hepatitis A

1997 Guatemalan raspberries, with cyclospora

2000, 2001, 2002 Mexican cantaloupes, with salmonella

2003 Mexican green onions, with hepatitis A

2008 Mexican serrano and jalapeño peppers, with salmonella



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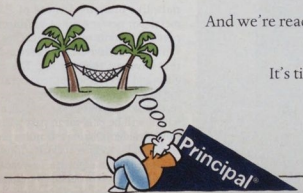
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Greening the Skyline

The world's tallest buildings look modern but have old-school energy bills. Enter the new age of eco-upgrades for skyscrapers

BY ANITA HAMILTON

ONE OF THE MOST AMBITIOUS EFFORTS to transform city skylines around the globe is nearly invisible. That's because the changes, aimed at drastically reducing energy consumption and carbon emissions in tall buildings, are happening in places most people never venture—in subterranean boiler rooms, behind radiators, under desks and inside the massive walls of office towers built decades ago.

Skyscrapers look modern, but they are among the worst culprits in urban areas when it comes to energy consumption and carbon emission, with outdated heating, cooling and lighting systems. And there are a lot of them—some 3 million in the U.S. alone. “No matter what we do on the new-construction side, it is a fraction of what needs to be done with existing tall buildings,” notes Rick Fedrizzi, CEO of the U.S. Green Building Council, which since 2002 has certified more than 1,000 energy-saving retrofits of existing buildings around the globe. An additional 5,234 retrofits are in the works. The work itself isn't cutting edge—it's about doing the basics better—but the savings add up: some 200 million metric tons of carbon would no longer be emitted each year.

One of the biggest success stories to date is the Empire State Building, which announced last fall that its new \$13 million retrofit would pay for itself within three years, thanks to a 38% reduction in annual energy consumption. The total costs were partially offset by a \$2 million grant from New York State. But Tony Malkin, owner of the Art Deco building completed in 1931, also managed to save money with novel ideas like refurbishing the glass in the building's windows instead of replacing it. Instead of paying \$2,500 each to replace the 6,514 windows, Malkin spent \$700 each to clean and insulate them. The contractors actually set up a window-refurbishing factory on the building's fifth floor in order to get the job done in less than six months last year. “The industry said it couldn't be done,” says Kevin Surace, CEO of Serious Materials. Adds Malkin: “We did everything based on cost-effectiveness.”

Most of the upgrades were downright




Sky-high savings The Empire State Building slashed its utility bills by \$4.4 million a year

ordinary. Workers recaulked the gaps between the limestone slabs on the building's facade to prevent heat loss, sprayed foam insulation in holes between the radiator pipes and walls and installed variable-frequency drives in the heating and cooling systems for precise temperature control. “I can't tell you how many people say, ‘Why not install solar cells or put a little windmill on the roof?’ Because it doesn't make business sense. It makes much more sense to lower energy use,” says Paul Rode, the project manager at Johnson Controls who oversaw the Empire State Building retrofit.

Another myth is that it's harder to get energy savings out of old buildings. In some ways, they're easier to green, as they tend to be made out of better insulating materials, like masonry, instead of glass and metal. For newer edifices, architects have resorted to more novel approaches to prevent heat loss, like creating a second facade that envelops the original. The 32-story glass-and-steel Celebrezze Federal Building in Cleveland, built in 1967, is getting a second skin made of glass and aluminum, which will be paid for in part with funds from President Obama's stimulus program. Designed by architect Charles Young of Interactive Design Eight, the new facade will stand 2.5 ft. (75 cm) outside the old exterior. Airflow between the old and new facade will insulate the building, yielding an estimated energy savings of \$650,000 per year.

Other high-profile retrofits are in the works. George Comfort & Sons, which owns the 50-story Worldwide Plaza in midtown Manhattan, hired Johnson Controls' Rode to manage its \$15 million retrofit last year after touring the Empire State Building. And the city of Melbourne has launched an ambitious project aimed at reducing the energy consumption of about 1,200 office buildings 38% by 2020. “This is not some feel-good environmental initiative. It is a hardheaded economic business decision,” says Robert Doyle, lord mayor of Melbourne. And not a tough one, given that the work will pay for itself in 10 years. ■



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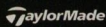
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Middleton
merch madness
PAGE 62



The Culture

58 POP CHART Popcorn's punch / **60 PROFILE** Arthur's heir / **62 STYLE** Royal-wedding swag / **64 BOOKS** Tina Fey's last laugh / **66 MONEY** Why not to sweat inflation

Photograph by Alexander Ho for TIME

Pop Chart



GOOD WEEK/ BAD WEEK

Madden NFL 12

The hit video game now prevents concussed players from re-entering game play.

Madden NFL

A programmer on the very first Madden has filed a suit asking for royalties from every version since.



CELEBRITY Tweet No More

A mere two months was all it took for notorious multitasker James Franco to get bored with Twitter. After criticism of his live-tweeting the Oscars and an uploaded picture of himself surrounded by naked women, Franco deleted his account in early April and cryptically declared, "Social media is over. Still up there. Going down."

MOVIES

The Smith Twist

M. Night Shyamalan, the much disparaged director of *The Happening* and *The Last Airbender*, doesn't seem to be taking chances with his next project. Not only will the untitled sci-fi flick from Columbia Pictures star the enormously popular father-son duo Will and Jaden Smith (last seen together in *The Pursuit of Happyness*), but papa Smith is set to co-produce alongside wife Jada Pinkett Smith. No word yet on daughter Willow's cameo.



ART

23 Feet Tall. 20 Tons. Cuddly as Hell

A giant bronze sculpture of a teddy bear slumped under a bedside lamp will take up residence at New York City's Park Avenue Plaza before auction house Christie's puts it up for sale in May. When *Untitled (Lamp/Bear)* hits the block, the 23-ft.-high creation by Swiss artist **Urs Fischer** is expected to go for about \$10 million. That is going to make some freakishly huge rich kid very happy.

STUNTS

PETA: Still Reasonable

News that PETA wants to rename San Francisco's Tenderloin district the "Tempeh" district—even though the name has nothing to do with meat—reminded us of the animal-rights group's other wacky campaigns. Here are our top five:

▶ In 1996 a PETA supporter dropped a dead raccoon on *Vogue* editor Anna Wintour's plate as she dined at New York City's Four Seasons hotel

▶ Protesters outside the 2009 Westminster Dog Show wore hooded robes and claimed that the American Kennel Club prizes "pure bloodlines" just like the Ku Klux Klan

▶ In Pamplona, Spain, to protest the running of the bulls, PETA hosts an annual "Running of the Nudes"

▶ In 2008 the group mailed a letter to Ben & Jerry's, asking the company to save cows by making its ice cream with human breast milk

▶ A 2009 campaign sought to rebrand fish as "sea kittens" in an attempt to guilt-trip fish lovers. Instead it just made them want to pet fish

VERBATIM

'If some stupid fans don't... appreciate such a gift, they can go to hell.'

MOHAMED AL FAYED, chairman of England's Fulham soccer club, to critics of a Michael Jackson statue that he ordered to be installed outside Craven Cottage stadium despite the lack of a connection between Jackson and soccer. Al Fayed owner of the West London club since 1997, seemed genuinely baffled by opposition to the figure. "Why is it bizarre?" he asked.

7 ft. 6 in. tall



This little old lady wants to pie you in the face



TELEVISION Punk'd, Senior-Style

A new NBC hidden-camera show hosted by Betty White will feature prank-playing senior citizens. *Off Their Rockers* is based on a hit Belgian program, and if it's anything like the original, you can expect to see foulmouthed nuns, 80-year-old hoodlums and an elderly woman depantsing an equally elderly man.

5 THINGS YOU DON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT THIS WEEK

1. Being *Mad Men*-free till 2012. Netflix has acquired the show's first four seasons, which will debut on the service in July.
2. Pittsburgh. Batman sequel *The Dark Knight Rises* will film there, not Chicago.
3. An end to ridiculous celebrity footwear. Cheech and Chong will release a Nike sneaker on 4/20.
4. The long-gestating *Three Stooges* film. Will & Grace's flamboyant Sean Hayes has been cast as Larry.
5. The crazy ambitions of Richard Branson. Virgin Oceanic will travel to the deepest point in each of the five oceans.



THE LAST GOODBYE LCD Soundsystem, the dance-rock brainchild of musician James Murphy, 41, called it quits with a farewell show on April 2 at New York City's Madison Square Garden. The nearly four-hour-long performance featured a live chorus, men in panda suits and an appearance by indie superstars Arcade Fire. We may never dance again

THEATER A Frightening Duo

In the works for over a decade, *Ghost Brothers of Darkland County*, the much anticipated musical collaboration of **Stephen King** and **John Mellencamp**, is at last headed for the stage. Set to open in Atlanta in April 2012, the Southern-gothic ghost story is based in part on a real-life pair of fraternal deaths from the 1950s. The Midwestern singer-songwriter has assured skeptics, "It won't be 'Jack & Diane' meets *Cujo*."



VERBATIM

'This is evil!'

A WASHINGTON MUSEUM PATRON, as she tried to pull Paul Gauguin's *Two Tahitian Women* off a wall, she later said the painting "has nudity and is bad for the children."

BUSINESS The Power of Popcorn

If adopted, new rules proposed by the Food and Drug Administration on April 1 would require chain eateries nationwide to list calorie counts on menus. Included in the original proposal, cinema chains were removed after lobbying by the National Association of Theatre Owners, whose members make a buttery killing on high-calorie movie popcorn.



Estimated profit margin on theater popcorn

90%

Estimated calories in a large popcorn

965

Far from Crazy Russell Brand cleans up his act

By Belinda Luscombe

LOOK CLOSELY AND YOU CAN MAKE OUT A theme running through Russell Brand's major movie roles to date: lascivious rock star, drug-addicted rock star, drunk, rich drunk and an Easter Bunny who would rather be a rock star.

But if Brand's acting career lacks range, he hasn't suffered for it. *Forgetting Sarah Marshall*, his first U.S. movie (the "lascivious rock star" one), hit screens in 2008. Three years and a slew of warm reviews later, the working-class Brit and former junkie produced and stars in an update of one of the most successful romantic comedies of all time, 1981's *Arthur*, alongside Dame Helen Mirren.

While many men who are considered hilarious in England—Billy Connolly, Rowan Atkinson, Thomas Paine—have struggled to find a comedic niche in the U.S., Brand, 35, has made himself right at home. "The interest in me and acceptance of my novelty," he says of his Hollywood reception, "has been like when Superman leaves his planet and suddenly things that are just normal for him become these superpowers here on earth. Or like Columbus returning from the colonies with tobacco."

On top of holding his own with comedy heavyweights in such movies as *Get Him to the Greek*, *Bedtime Stories* and *Despicable Me*, he's shot a stand-up special for Comedy Central and written two memoirs, one of which made the New York Times best-seller list. Also, he managed to snag a gainfully employed American wife. Her name is Katy Perry. She sings.

It doesn't hurt that Brand is blessed with the accent of an orphan, the mind of a teenage boy and the vocabulary of an Oxford don. Or that he has a gift for making up outlandish dialogue on the spot, which is how comedy's current producer-

deity, Judd Apatow (the force behind *Greek* and *Sarah Marshall*), likes to roll.

Brand has had plenty of outrageous material to work with. His "novelty" includes what he calls his "youthful folly, jubilation and hijinks"—that is, his addictions. On Sept. 12, 2001, he turned up for his job as a VJ on British MTV dressed as Osama bin Laden. He was fired. In 2002 he read pornography aloud on a radio show. He was fired. Brand has been fired a lot, usually on account of his bottomless thirst for sex, alcohol and illicit substances. As he later put it, "the thing about heroin—it's very more-ish."

Even a sober Brand—he's been clean since 2003—is a mischievous one. As host of the 2008 MTV Video Music Awards, he made lewd jokes about the Jonas Brothers and called President George W. Bush a "retarded cowboy" who in England "wouldn't be trusted with a pair of scissors." This time he was asked to host again.

It's easy to see how this wicked pixie could step into the role of Arthur, the wan but winningly naive billionaire who's

forced to choose between love and wealth: Brand has the impulsive energy, the pathos and the skirt- and booze-chasing résumé. Yet much of the comedy in *Arthur* doesn't land. The problem isn't just that Brand is less witty when he's less dirty. It's that the remake's PG-13 script lacks the sharp take on human frailty that Brand's humor has. (The original film had it too.)

Having strip-mined his own addictions and recovery in his stand-up for years, Brand now expresses less desire to exploit that kind of material. "We're entering an age where we have this bewildering lust for downfall," he says. "We shouldn't be at the sidelines applauding people's self-destruction."

Does that mean Brand's troublemaker days are done? Not exactly. He's in talks to play yet another rocker, this time in a hair-band movie musical. And then there's stand-up: "For me, it's the perfect medium," he says. "It's uncensored and immediate." Plus, he can hear the laughter, which is a perfectly legal high. And very more-ish.

Character Building. Making an American Brand



Rock-Star Boyfriend

The character who steals the hero's girl in *Forgetting Sarah Marshall* was originally an author. Then Brand auditioned.

Hair Apparent
Brand's career can be charted by the height of his wildly teased colf: as his fame ballooned, his locks deflated.



Pop-Star Spouse

Brand joked at the 2009 MTV VMAs that Katy Perry should come to his hotel room after the show. They married in 2010.



Style

Kitsch Me, Kate. Attack of the wedding swag

By Feifei Sun

LOVE IS ALL PRINCE William and Kate Middleton need: they've asked that charitable donations be made in lieu of gifts. But that doesn't mean the rest of town isn't cashing in. Economists predicted the royal wedding would give London a business boost, and already there's no shortage of swag for sale in anticipation of William and Kate's April 29 nuptials, from the classy (commemorative china) to the...less classy (Crown Jewels condoms; nail polish called No More Waity, Katie).

"People want to be a part of this wedding, and there's money to be made," says Barbara Kahn, a marketing professor at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School. Even more robust

than the lowbrow merch trade is the market for knockoffs of items worn by the future Princess, which has benefited from an extremely short production cycle. Within 24 hours of the engagement, the Natural Sapphire Co. was offering a copy of the famous blue ring, and many other jewelers soon followed. Natural Sapphire's versions range in price from \$550 to \$1.5 million; so far, it has sold more than 1,000 rings. (It took the company almost two months to produce a replica of the same ring in 1981, and it sold only 30-something copies.) Customers simply ask for the Kate Middleton ring, says Evan Guttman of Natural Sapphire. "And when they walk out, they're almost prancing."

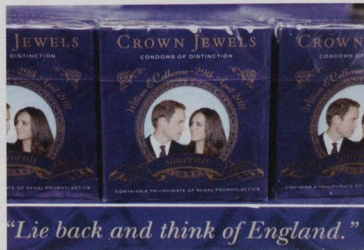
Middleton's sartorial choices have generated equal excitement, with the blue Issa dress she wore to announce her engagement spawning a handful of hard-to-get knockoffs. One look-alike "Kate" shift by Tesco appeared two weeks later and sold out online in less than an hour, which means that while Middleton herself is no longer in waiting, those who want to copy her Princess style may have to be.

A souvenir for every taste, from appreciative to, well, not so appreciative



The dress that launched a thousand knockoffs





Books

You're Not the Boss of Her. In her new memoir, Tina Fey gets the last laugh

By Mary Pols

TINA FEY'S *BOSSYPANTS* FEATURES HER pretty face on its glossy cover in the style of many a celebrity memoir—except she is resting her cheek on a hairy, meaty man hand. It's as if she's signaling that despite all the glamour she has acquired, she's foremost a funny person. Take it or leave it.

You should take it. *Bossypants* is uneven and jagged in ways you might expect from a writer practiced in sketch comedy, but it's also loaded with personality, insights into power and the kind of humor that causes you to snort in public. Though presented in chronological chapters, it's less a memoir than a collection of comic essays in the

mold of Nora Ephron or David Sedaris. Fey isn't as fluid as those masters of the form, but you sense her warming to it. She takes us briskly through her professional history, from a thankless desk job at the YMCA (the gig funded her improv classes at Chicago's Second City) to *30 Rock* and *Saturday Night Live*, including her stint playing Sarah Palin. When the Alaska governor accused her of exploitation, Fey writes, she knew better than to engage. "Although if I were to respond," she adds, "I would probably just say, 'Nice reality show.'"

That's classic Fey: not-responding with a witty retort, a drop of knowing disingenuousness that allows her the last laugh. It's

a deflection strategy that comes in handy when she introduces the topic—right up front—of the scar that runs across her cheek: "I only bring it up to explain why I'm not going to talk about it." When Fey was in kindergarten, a stranger slashed her. She delivers no further gory details.

If *Bossypants* doesn't offer revelations exactly, we do get flashes of self-reflection. (Regarding the scar, Fey believes that the attention she received after the trauma gave her "an inflated sense of self.") She's most at ease writing about what women see reflected in society's gigantic, unforgiving mirror—judgment of their looks, their dress size, their parenting skills—and offering reassurance: breastfeeding is fine, but formula is no sin; PhotoShop is fine too—"better than all these disgusting injectibles and implants." Two brilliantly economical chapters, "Remembrances of Being Very Very



Exploring

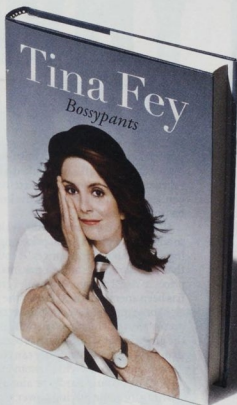
Oil and natural gas polymers are vital to solar panels and wind turbines

Most Americans know oil and natural gas heat our homes and get us where we need to go. What many may not know is just how vital they are to the viability of renewable energy sources.

Oil and natural gas polymers are essential to the manufacture of components for solar panels and wind turbines. And since we can't always rely on the wind and sun, natural gas provides a clean, efficient source of always-available, on-demand electricity to back

Bossypants

Reagan Arthur Books;
288 pages

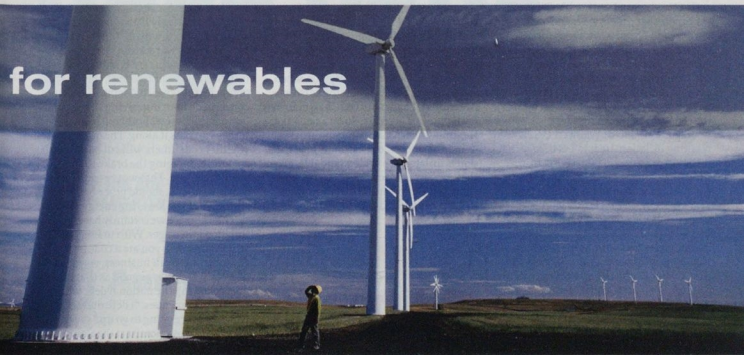


FIRST LINE
Welcome Friend,
Congratulations on
your purchase of
this American-made
genuine book.

Skinny" and "Remembrances of Being a Little Bit Fat," are a hilarious summons to embrace life somewhere in the middle. Fey may dabble in Louboutins, but she has a sensible-shoe sensibility.

A refrain of *Bossypants*, highlighted in a chapter called "Juggle This," is that Fey even now encounters shock and awe that she, a woman, really is the boss. You sense that she's a good one. She's annoyed by sexism in comedy, but her fondness for the men she works with remains intact—she bucks the system, not the opposite sex. Being boss does entail "triannual torrential sobbing" (a ritual no more distracting than March Madness is for her male co-workers, she says) and fantasies of quitting. But she bucks up for the sake of the 200 people on *30 Rock's* payroll. Lucky them—and lucky us that somewhere in there, *Bossypants* juggled this book into being.

for renewables



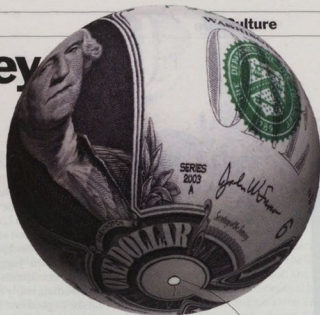
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Inflating Inflation Everyone's worried, but the data isn't scary

By Bill Saporito

INFLATION IS EVERYWHERE. IN CONGRESS, deficit hawks are shouting like Bible thumpers that unless we mend our borrow-and-spend ways, we are doomed to soaring interest rates and a cheapened currency. Inside the Federal Reserve, a few heretics have been agitating for an interest-rate hike to snuff the *I* thing before it raises its ugly head, even with the economy barely in recovery.

Bill Simon, CEO of Walmart U.S., is retailing inflation. He told *USA Today* that inflation would soon be arriving from China like another boatload of cheap pajamas, only not quite as cheap as last year's pj's. One reason is that workers in China's bustling economy had the audacity to demand higher wages. Throw in higher prices for commodities such as the cotton in apparel, grains like corn in so many foods and the oil needed to haul it across the planet, and it seems to spell no-way-around-it inflation.

Because everybody says so. In the latest Conference Board survey of consumer confidence, the Expectations Index—a measure of optimism—decreased to 81.1 in March from 97.5 in February, largely because consumers expect inflation will rise significantly and eat into their disposable income. In practical terms, consumers were expecting inflation of 6% to 6.5%, which is up from the typical

5% to 5.5%. Reality check: core inflation, at 1.1% in February, was relatively tame compared with headline inflation, which includes food and energy. That hit an awesome 2.1%. If you think that's inflation, then you didn't live during the end of the 1970s and the early '80s, when inflation was in the double digits (so very Argentina). That's why Fed Chairman Ben Bernanke has been Dr. No on a rate hike. He simply doesn't see compelling data.

In other words, our estimation of inflation is inflated. It's understandable, given that consumers focus on the very visible signs of inflation at the fuel pump and in grocery aisles, says Lynn Franco, the

Conference Board's head of consumer research. Energy inflation spiked 3.4% in February, so if you use that as a telltale, you see a storm ahead even if the breeze has merely picked up.

Why, then, is a company like Walmart, so adept at keeping a lid on prices, signaling so hard about rising prices? It could be that Walmart needs and even wants some prices to rise. The company's sales growth has been anemic in the U.S. over the past eight or so quarters. A couple of percentage points' worth of higher prices will provide the growth that Wall Street has been demanding, and if the company can control its own costs, profits will blossom too.

Walmart would hardly be alone in wishing for some pricing power. One of the tactical issues of inflation is determining who has to eat it: suppliers, resellers or us. Since the downturn, there has been relatively little pricing muscle among retailers; we consumers have been in the driver's seat.

But if consumers are building too much inflation into their forecasts, they may be giving up the wheel too soon. Companies concerned about improving the top and bottom lines aren't bothered by inflation if they can pass it along. The question is whether consumers will cut back their spending, applying the brake to the economic rebound. That worry could pass quickly, though, should peace break out in the Middle East, lowering energy prices.

The one place we certainly haven't had inflation is in wages. With unemployment still high, unless you are a code jockey in the social-network business, your chance of getting a raise is as good as that of Congress's cutting the national debt without raising tax revenues. "I definitely think that wages are going to go up," says Ken Goldstein, an economist at the Conference Board. "Maybe around 2013." He's only half joking; he doesn't see wages rising until next winter at the earliest. It seems incongruous that we'd worry so much about inflation when there's hardly any surplus money to feed it. I'm guessing that having too much money is a problem a lot of people would be happy to wrestle with. ■

81.1

The Expectations Index decreased last month to 81.1, from 97.5.

"Consumers' inflation expectations rose significantly in March, and their income expectations soured, a combination that will likely impact spending decisions," says Lynn Franco, head of consumer research for the Conference Board.

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MAGAZINES

John Cloud



Inherit the Wind

At 75, *Gone with the Wind* is still mistaken for a romance. It's actually a gritty eulogy

MY COPY OF MARGARET MITCHELL'S *Gone with the Wind*—a 114th printing, now a bit tattered—carries an inscription from my mother: “A good book is timeless.” Mitchell’s novel, whose 75th anniversary has arrived amid many reconsiderations and even more sales, may or may not be a good book. But it has always been a popular one. Published in the summer of 1936 at the startling Depression price of \$3—the equivalent of nearly \$50 today—it sold a million copies by Christmas. The novel now ranks among the best-selling books ever published in English.

Its success has always defied critical understanding. In a typical 1936 review, in *The New Republic*, Malcolm Cowley found *Gone with the Wind* not bad but puzzling. He wrote that Mitchell—a minor Atlanta newspaperwoman—“blundered into big scenes that a more experienced novelist would hesitate to handle for fear of being compared unfavorably with Dickens or Dostoyevsky.” Somehow she pulls it off. “I would never say that she has written a great novel,” Cowley wrote, “but in the midst of triteness and sentimentality her book has a simpleminded courage that suggests the great novelists of the past.”

Although the book might be called a kitsch *Anna Karenina*, *Gone with the Wind* quickly became one of those cultural products that transcend criticism, like *Star Wars* or Lady Gaga, while never losing its relevance. By 1970, when my parents gave me the middle name Ashley, for the blond and drowsy-eyed Ashley Wilkes, my mother had read the book and seen the film more times than she can remember. My mom is no disgruntled Confederate, though it is true that one of her great-grandfathers, a man with the splendid

name Anderton Tillmon Story, fought for the Confederacy. According to family lore, Story got his thumb shot off and was so hungry during the journey home after Appomattox that he ate hulls from an old pea patch and promptly vomited.

Hunger is a constant theme in *Gone with the Wind*. Southerners’ humiliation at having lost the war was compounded not only by the sickening knowledge that they never had a chance but also by the



Rogues Neither Rhett nor Scarlett was a silly romantic

reckoning that came after. As historian Eric Foner writes in *A Short History of Reconstruction*, more than a quarter-million men were dead, and many cities and villages lay in near total ruin. The region had even lost nearly a third of its horses.

Taxes were required to rebuild, but the only thing left to tax was the ground itself. The planter class no longer had pigs or cotton or pretty French dresses, but it still had land. Most people see *Gone with the Wind* as a romance novel, but the force that drives Scarlett O’Hara the hardest—what pushes her to steal her sister’s businessman fiancé, rob a man she shoots in the face and run a mill that sells wood at

punishing prices to former friends—is having to pay the property taxes on Tara. The Southern antipathy toward taxes has never quite abated, despite the region’s perpetually dismal public schools and almost nonexistent safety net.

***Gone with the Wind* also helps explain** why the South sends so many of its sons (and, today, daughters) to fight wars. Scarlett may be a venal grasper, but she and Rhett Butler have little patience for war talk even as the plantation boys around them become “intoxicated” by the idea of war in 1861. Ashley is also wary. At the Twelve Oaks barbecue in Chapter 6, he tries to quiet the wild enthusiasm before Bull Run. “Let’s don’t

have any war,” he tells the roomful of hotheads. “Most of the misery of the world has been caused by wars.” Yet he goes off to fight—and so does Rhett, eventually. Even Scarlett ends up killing a Yankee. The conflation of honor with the duty to fight defeats all other impulses. Like most feudal societies, the South had to defend its honor because it had little else. In the South, the hot-heads usually prevail.

Gone with the Wind is surely a retrograde book—it is unforgivably racist—but a kind of progressivism emerges from it. For example, most of its men are far weaker than Scarlett. The book is not really a tale of North vs. South but of old South vs. new. Ashley represents the old; he “was born of a line of men who used their leisure for thinking, not doing, for spinning brightly colored dreams.” Scarlett, by contrast, is “diamond hard.” “I’ve found out that money is the most important thing in the world,” she tells Rhett late in the book. With its loving descriptions of organdy and horsemanship, *Gone with the Wind* seems genteel, but it is actually an unrelenting tale of how honor gives in to greed. Mitchell knew that loss was as tragic and inevitable as the South’s self-imposed despoiling. ■



Photo by Rosalie Winard

The World Needs All Kinds Of Minds.

Autism allows Dr. Temple Grandin to think in pictures. The ability makes her visionary. Dr. Grandin, an animal scientist at Colorado State University, is changing the world with new insights into animal behavior and new innovations in food-animal welfare. She's a hero to people with autism and their families, placing her among TIME magazine's "100 Most Influential People in the World." The acclaimed 2010 HBO biopic, "Temple Grandin," spreads the message that true vision comes from all kinds of people. This month – National Autism Awareness Month – Colorado State University celebrates Dr. Grandin, her vision, her ongoing research and her teaching on our campus in Fort Collins, Colorado. As Dr. Grandin says, "The world needs all kinds of minds."



Watch Dr. Grandin's talk about college students with autism:

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10 Questions



The *Conspirator* is the first movie financed by the American Film Co., a side project of Chicago Cubs co-owner Joe Ricketts

Director **Robert Redford** looks at the fallout from Lincoln's assassination in *The Conspirator*, out April 15

Were you disappointed that your Civil War movie didn't have any battle scenes?

No, I wasn't, because it's been done so much. There have been some wonderful films with beautifully done battles and gore and all that. But I was more interested in what the vibe was following the war.

You portray Lincoln's assassination, but you choose not to show his face. Why?

If you try to authenticate his face, you're just never going to win. There's no face like it except the real one.

How helpful or harmful to your career has it been to be known as someone who is passionate about politics?

I am passionate. I am political about my country, about what it is, how strong it is, how strong it remains. [My last film,] *Lions for Lambs*, got rough treatment, and I think it was because—and I don't want to sound defensive—but I think it was misperceived. I'm not a left-wing person. I'm just a person interested in the sustainability of my country.

Was there a point early in your career when you thought you could change minds through film?

I guess I did. When I was younger, naive. I thought, Maybe *The Candidate* will affect young people. The point of that film was that we select people by cosmetics, not substance. I thought maybe that

point would get through and they would demand more of their candidates. But I've come to feel that [film] is not going to change anything.

Do you wish you had acted more in recent decades?

Yes. I segued into directing because I wanted more control of the story. But I started as an actor. I am an actor. I think a lot of people think that I don't [act] anymore or that I'm more involved in Sundance. But it's not true.

How has Hollywood changed since you got into the biz?

Hollywood as we once knew it no longer exists. It's just a street in Los Angeles. Studio

systems still exist, but only under whatever security can be provided from a franchise film. It's becoming more open to independent films, but only because some of them have succeeded in making money.

Does the phrase indie film actually mean anything?

We're quick to label stuff. Suddenly, [everything's] an indie film. That made me nervous. I don't think of independent film in terms of the films themselves as much as I do the ideas of the artists behind them.

You're well known for being an environmentalist. How do you think the Obama Administration is doing on that front?

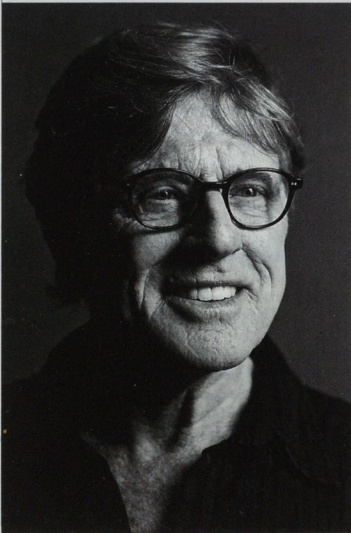
I've been doing this for almost 40 years, and it's always been tough because of the power of the energy companies. I think the Administration would like to do the right thing, but they're hampered by the extremism of certain elements within Congress.

Was it limiting during your early years in Hollywood to be perceived as good-looking?

Yeah. Because when I started [in TV], that's not the way I was seen. I played all kinds of parts—killers, psychos. They were fun, real character roles. Then, when I went into film, it suddenly shifted. You're not given freedom to move out of that.

Are you glad you didn't come up as a star in today's celebrity-obsessed age?

Yeah. I really am. It's such a messy deal, such a distraction. Who knew it was going to come to this?



FROM LEFT: JEFF VESPA—CONTOUR/GETTY IMAGES; SCOTT BRIMM—GETTY IMAGES

#61

The Can-tortionist

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